

T H B
W O R K S
O F
M. D E V O L T A I R E.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

W I T H
NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M.D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M.A. AND OTHERS.

IN TWENTY - FOUR VOLUMES.



VOLUME VI.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

D U B L I N:

PRINTED BY S. POWELL,
FOR R. MONCRIEFFE IN CAPEL-STREET,
M,DCC,LXXII.

T H D

C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

S I X T H V O L U M E.

C H A P. CLXXVIII.

KING James of England dethroned by his son-in-law William III. and protected by Lewis XIV. 1

C H A P. CLXXIX.

Of what passed on the continent, while William III. was invading England, Scotland, and Ireland, till the year 1697. The burning of the Palatinate. Victories of the marshals Catenat and Luxemburg 15

C H A P. CLXXX.

Treaty with Savoy. Marriage of the duke of Burgundy. Peace of Ryswick. State of France and Europe. Death and last will of Charles II. king of Spain 32

C H A P. CLXXXI.

The war of 1701. Conduct of Prince Eugene, Marshal Villeroy, the duke of Vendôme, the duke of Marlborough, and Marshal Villars till the year 1703 61

C H A P. CLXXXII.

Loss of the battle of Hochstet, or Blenheim 79

C H A P. CLXXXIII.

Losses in Spain. Loss of the battle of Ramillies and Turin, and their consequences. 88

C H A P. CLXXXIV.

The losses of the French and Spaniards continued. Lewis XIV. humbled; his perseverance and resources. Battle of Malplaquet 100

C H A P. CLXXXV.

Lewis XIV. continues to solicit peace, and to defend himself. The duke of Vendôme secures the king of Spain on his throne. 119

C H A P. CLXXXVI.

Victory gained by marshal Villars at Denain. The affairs of France retrieved. The general peace. 129
A general

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. CLXXXVII.

A general view of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht to the year 1756 141

C H A P. CLXXXVIII.

Continuation of the general view of Europe. Regency of the duke of Orleans. Law's system 147

C H A P. CLXXXIX.

Continuation of the general view of Europe to the year 1756 154

C H A P. CXC.

Concerning the new house of Austria, the war of 1741, and the conquests of Lewis XV. 163

C H A P. CXCI.

Of Prince Charles Edward 170

C H A P. CXCII.

Admiral Anson's voyage round the world 175

C H A P. CXCIII.

Concerning Lewisbourg, or Cape Breton; and the numerous prizes taken by the English 182

C H A P. CXCIV.

The French take Madras, and obliged the English to raise the siege of Pondicherry, &c. 185

C H A P. CXCV.

Of Italy; the Revolution of Genoa; and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle 188

C H A P. CXCVI.

Concerning the war between France and England in 1756 194

C H A P. CXCVII.

Private anecdotes of the reign of Lewis XIV. 201

C H A P. CXCVIII.

Continuation of remarkable particulars and anecdotes 233

C H A P. CXCIX.

Continuation of the private memoirs and anecdotes 251

C H A P. CC.

Continuation of anecdotes 271



THE
AGE of LEWIS XIV.
CONTINUED.

CHAP. CLXXVIII.

King JAMES of ENGLAND dethroned by his Son-in-law
WILLIAM III. and protected by Lewis XIV.

THE prince of Orange, still more ambitious than even Lewis XIV. had conceived vast designs, which might appear chimerical in a stadtholder of Holland, but which he justified by his great abilities and courage. He wanted to humble the king of France and dethrone the king of England. He found no great difficulty in getting the powers of Europe by little and little to join with him against France; the emperor, some princes of the empire, the Dutch and the Duke of Lorraine, had at first entered into a private league at Augsb¹⁶⁸¹urg, and were soon after joined by Spain and the duke of Savoy. The pope, without being actually one of the confederates, set them all at work by his intrigues. The Venetians, without openly declaring themselves, favoured their designs in secret, and all the princes of Italy were in their interest. In the North, Sweden at that time sided with the Imperialists, and

Denmark was an useless ally to France. Upwards of five hundred thousand protestants, who had been driven out of France by the persecution of Lewis, and had carried with them their industry, and an irreconcilable hatred to the French king, were as a new body of enemies, who dispersed themselves through all the courts of Europe, and animated the confederate powers, already inclined to war. (We shall speak of the flight of these people in the chapter of religion.) The king was surrounded by enemies on all sides, and had no friend but king James of England.

James, who succeeded his brother Charles II. was a catholic as well as he; but Charles did not consent to become a catholic, till towards the latter end of his life, and then only out of compliance with his mistresses and his brother. In fact, he acknowledged no other religion but that of pure deism. His perfect indifference in those points which divide mankind in their disputations, had contributed not a little to render his reign peaceable among the English. James, on the contrary, attached by strong persuasion to the Roman-catholic religion from his youth, joined to his belief the spirit of party and zeal. Had he been a Mahometan, or of the religion of Confucius, the English would never have disturbed his reign; but he formed a design to establish the Roman-catholic religion in his kingdom *, which is
looked

* In Vol. III. of the memoirs of madam de Maintenon, in the fourth chapter, entitled, *Of the King and Queen of England*, we meet with an unaccountable jumble of falsties. It is there said, that the following question was proposed by the Civilians: "Whether the people have a right to rebel against the authority which endeavours to force a belief upon them?" But here the affair was quite the reverse; the English opposed the king's intention of tolerating the Roman-catholic religion. The point in dispute was, "Whether the king had a power to dispense with the test-oath in those whom he admitted to employments?"

The same writer says, that pope Innocent XI. made the prince of Orange a present of two hundred thousand ducats, to go and root out the Roman catholic religion in England.

He likewise affirms, in the same rash manner, that Innocent XI. ordered several thousand masses to be said for the prince of Orange's
success.

looked upon with the utmost horror by these republican royalists, as a religion of slavery. It is sometimes a very easy matter to establish a religion in a country; Constantine, Clovis, Gustavus Vasa, and queen Elizabeth, did, without any danger, introduce a new religion into their kingdoms by different methods, and got it received by the people; but to bring about changes of this kind, there are two things absolutely necessary, a depth of politics, and a lucky concurrence of circumstances, both of which were wanting to James.

He could not without indignation reflect, that so many kings of Europe were despotic; that those of Sweden and Denmark were lately become so; and, in a word, that Poland and England were the only kingdoms in the world where the liberty of the people subsisted at the same time with royalty. He was encouraged by Lewis XIV. to render himself absolute at home, and the Jesuits persuaded him to restore their religion, and with

B 2

ir

success. It is well known that this pontiff favoured the league of Augsberg, but he never acted in a manner so ridiculous and contrary to what he owed to his dignity. The Spanish envoy at the Hague indeed ordered prayers to be publicly said in his chapel for the success of the Dutch fleet, of which monsieur d'Avaux sent advice to his master Lewis.

This writer also gives us to understand, that the count d'Avaux corrupted the members of the state; but he is mistaken here again, it was the count d'Estrade. He is likewise wrong in point of time; this happened twenty-four years before. See Mr. d'Estrade's letter to Mr. de Lionne, dated Sept. 17, 1665.

The same author has the assurance to quote bishop Burnet, whom he makes to say, in expressing a particular vice in the prince of Orange, that "He was fond only of back-doors*;" now there is not a single word in all Burnet's History which bears the least resemblance to so low an expression, and so unworthy the pen of an historian, and though some compiler of anecdotes may have pretended that bishop Burnet suffered so indecent an expression to escape him in conversation, such an obscure testimony ought not surely to prevail against an authentic history.

* Though Burnet did not use the gross expression mentioned above yet certain it is, he insinuated something almost equivalent, to the prejudice of William's character, by recording a scandalous report that the king was addicted to a secret vice. But this expression is omitted in the late editions of Burnet's History.

it their credit; but he took such unfortunate measures to compass this, that at his first setting out he turned all hearts against him. He began as if he had already obtained the end he aimed at: he entertained a nuncio from the pope publicly at his court, with a train of Jesuits and Capuchin friars; he threw seven English bishops into prison, whom he ought rather to have won over by gentle means; deprived the city of London of its privileges, instead of indulging it with new ones; and overturned the laws with an high hand, which he should have secretly undermined; in a word, he acted with so little discretion, that the cardinals at Rome used to say of him by way of jest, "That he ought to be excommunicated, as a person who was going about to destroy the little catholic religion that remained in England."

Pope Innocent XI. conceived such indifferent hopes of James's projects, that he never would grant a cardinal's hat which that prince solicited for his confessor father Peters. This Jesuit was a hot-headed intriguing man, who, mad with the ambition of becoming a cardinal and primate of England, pushed his master on to the precipice. The principal persons of the kingdom combined together in secret to prevent the king's designs, and sent a deputation to the prince of Orange. They conducted their plot with such prudence and secrecy, that the court was lulled in full security.

The prince of Orange fitted out a fleet of ships*, on board of which were to be embarked between fourteen and

* The author of Maintenon's Memoirs asserts, that the prince of Orange finding the states-general refused to grant him a supply, entered the assembly, and addressed them in this manner: "Gentlemen, there will be a war next spring and I desire that this prediction may be registered." In proof of this he quotes the count d'Avaux, and says, that this minister saw through the whole design of the prince of Orange. It is hardly possible to jumble together falsities in a worse manner. Nine thousand sailors were ready assembled in the year 1687. The count d'Avaux does not mention a syllable of this pretended speech of the prince of Orange: Nor had he the least suspicion of that prince's real design, till the 20th of May, 1688. See his letter to the king of that date.

and fifteen thousand men. This prince, who was only an illustrious private person, and had hardly five hundred thousand livres a year of his own estate, was nevertheless so happy in his politics, that he saw himself master of money, a fleet, and the hearts of the states-general. He was truly a king in Holland by his skilful conduct, while James lost all regal power in England by his precipitate rashness.

It was at first given out that this armament was designed against France. The true destination was kept a profound secret, though entrusted with more than two hundred persons. Barillon, the French ambassador at London, a man of pleasure, and more conversant in the intrigues of James's mistresses, than those of Europe, was the first imposed upon. Lewis XIV. however was not to be thus deceived; he saw what was going forward, and offered his assistance to his friend and ally, who, thinking himself secure, rejected that aid which he afterwards solicited when it was too late, and his son in-law the prince of Orange's fleet was under sail. He had been wanting to himself, October, 1688.

and he now found every thing fail him at once. He in vain wrote to the emperor Leopold: that prince returned for answer, "Nothing has befallen you but what we had foretold." He depended upon his fleet, but his ships suffered those of the enemy to pass them. He might however have defended himself by land: he had an army of twenty thousand men, and if he had led them on without giving them time for reflection, it is probable they would have done their duty; but instead of that, he gave them leisure to fix their determination. Several of his general officers abandoned him, and among the rest the famous Churchill, who afterwards proved as fatal to Lewis as he had done to James, and became so illustrious under the name of the duke of Marlborough. He was the favourite of James, his creature, brother to his mistress, and a lieutenant-general in his army; notwithstanding which he left him, and went over to the prince of Orange at his camp. James likewise saw himself abandoned by his

son-in-law the prince of Denmark, and even by his own daughter, the princess Anne.

And now finding himself attacked and pursued by one of his sons-in-law, abandoned by the other, deserted by his own daughters and bosom-friends, and hated even by those of his subjects who were of his own party, he looked upon his fortune as desperate ; and, without waiting for the issue of a battle, resolved upon flight, the last resource of a vanquished prince. At length, after being stopt in his flight by the populace, ill-treated by them, and carried back to London, receiving submissively the orders of the prince of Orange in his own palace, seeing his guard relieved by that prince's, without the least resistance, driven from his house, and made a prisoner at Rochester, he took advantage of the liberty purposely given him, to quit his kingdom, and seek an asylum in France.

This was the epocha of the true English liberty. The nation, represented by its parliament, fixed the long contested limits of the royal prerogative, and the privileges of the people ; and having prescribed to the prince of Orange the conditions on which he was to reign, chose him for their king jointly with his wife Mary, the daughter of king James. From that time this prince was acknowledged by the greatest part of Europe as the lawful king of England, by the name of William III. and the deliverer of that nation ; but in France they considered him only as the prince of Orange, the usurper of the dominions of his father-in-law.

The fugitive king came with his wife, the daughter of the duke of Modena, and their son the prince of Wales, as yet an infant, to implore the protection of Lewis XIV. The queen of England, who arrived a little time before her husband, was astonished at the splendour with which the French monarch was surrounded, and that profusion of magnificence which she beheld at Versailles ; and still more so at the reception she met with from the king, who went as far as Chatou to meet her*. “ I now do you a melancholy

* See Madame de Seigné's letters, and the Memoirs of Madame de la Fayette.

lancholy service, madam, (said he) I hope, before it is long, to render you one more considerable and fortunate." This was his very expression. He then conducted her to the palace of St. Germain, where she met with the same attendance as the queen of France herself would have had, and was furnished with every thing that ministers to convenience or luxury; presents of all kinds, in gold, silver, plate, jewels, and rich stuffs.

Among other presents she found a purse of ten thousand louis d'ors laid on her toilet. The same attention was paid to the king her husband, who arrived just one day after her; he had six hundred thousand franks a year settled upon him for the expences of his household, besides an infinite number of presents which were made him. He had the king's own officers and guards. But this noble reception was little, in comparison of the preparations which were made for restoring him to his throne. Never did monarch appear so grand as Lewis on this occasion, and James seemed as mean. Those of the court and city, by whose opinions the reputations of men are decided, conceived very little esteem for him. He saw nobody but Jesuits. He alighted at their college in St. Anthony's street in Paris; he told them that he was a Jesuit as well as themselves; and, what is still more extraordinary, he said the truth. He had got himself admitted into this order with certain ceremonies, by four English Jesuits, when he was only duke of York. This weakness of mind in a prince, joined to the manner in which he had lost his crown, rendered him so despicable, that the courtiers diverted themselves every day with making songs upon him. He was driven from England, and ridiculed in France, where no one gave him any credit for being a catholic. The archbishop of Rheims, brother to Louvois the minister, said openly in his antichamber at St. Germain, "There's a good man, who has given up three kingdoms for a mass." From Rome he received only indulgences and pasquinades. In a word, throughout the whole of this revolution, his religion was of so little service to him, that when the prince of Orange, who was the head of the Calvinists, set sail to go and dethrone his father-in-law,

the catholic king's minister at the Hague ordered masses to be said for the success of his expedition.

In the midst of the humiliations which beset this fugitive prince, and the immense liberality of Lewis XIV. towards him, it was a spectacle worthy of attention to see James touching for the king's evil in the little convent of the English nuns; whether that the kings of England have arrogated this singular privilege to themselves, as pretenders to the crown of France, or that this ceremony has been established among them since the time of the first Edward.

The King soon sent him over to Ireland, where the Roman-catholics still formed a very considerable party; a squadron of thirteen ships of the first rate lay in Brest-road, ready to carry him over. All the officers, courtiers, and even the priests, who had repaired to James at St. Germain, had their passage to Brest defrayed at the French king's expence. An ambassador (Monsieur d'Avaux) was nominated to attend the dethroned king, and followed him in great state. Arms and ammunition of all kinds were put on board the fleet, and every sort of utensil, from the meanest to the most valuable. The king went to St. Germain to take his leave of him, where, for the last present, he gave him his own suit of armour, and embracing him affectionately, "The best thing I can wish you, (said he) is never to see you here again." James had scarcely landed in Ireland with this great preparation, when he was followed by twenty-three large ships more, and a prodigious number of transports, under the command of Chatteau Renaud. This fleet having engaged and dispersed the English squadron, which attempted to oppose its passage, and landed the troops in safety, on its return fell in with and took seven Dutch merchantmen, and came back to Brest victorious over the English*, and laden with the spoils of the Dutch.

In

* Who would not imagine from this expression that the French fleet had subdued England? whereas the truth of the matter is this: The French squadron falling in with the English fleet under Herbert, which was greatly inferior to them in number, an engagement en-

In a very short time afterwards a third supply set sail from the harbours of Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort. The ports of Ireland and the English channel were covered with French ships. At length Tourville, vice-admiral of France, with seventy-two sail of large ships, fell in with the English and Dutch fleet of sixty sail, and a fight ensued which lasted ten hours; on this occasion Tourville, Chatteau Renaud, d'Estree, and Nemond, signalized themselves by their courage and skill, and reflected an honour on the French navy to which it had till then been a stranger. The English and Dutch, who till then had been masters of the ocean, and from whom the French had but a little time before learnt the art of fighting their ships in line of battle, were totally defeated. Seventeen of their ships dismasted, or rendered useless, were run ashore and burnt by themselves *, the rest took refuge in the Thames, or on the banks of Holland. In this whole engagement the French lost but one small vessel. And now, what Lewis had been wishing for upwards of twenty years, and which seemed so little probable, came to pass; he had the empire of the sea, an empire which indeed was but of short duration. The enemy's ships of war fled before his fleets; Seignelai, who dared to attempt the greatest things, brought the galleys of Marseilles upon the main ocean; and the sea coast of England beheld this kind of vessel for the first time: by the help of these galleys a descent was made at Timmouth, and upwards of thirty merchant-ships burnt in that bay. The privateers of St. Malo and the new harbour of Dunkirk enriched them-

March,
1690.

B 5

selves.

sued, in which there was not one vessel lost on either side; and the two squadrons seemed to part by consent. Herbert put to sea, and Chatteau Renaud retired into Bantry-bay in Ireland.

* The French fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two-and-twenty fire-ships; whereas the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed fifty-six, so that the enemy had a superiority of twenty-two. In this engagement, the Dutch lost six ships of the line; and the loss of the English amounted to two. Admiral Herbert, then lord Torrington, was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower, in consequence of the complaints of the states-general, who affirmed that he had sacrificed the Dutch squadron in the engagement.

selves and the state, by continual prizes. In a word, for the space of two years there was not a ship to be seen on the sea but those of France.

King James did not second in Ireland these great efforts made by Lewis in his favour. He had with him near six thousand French, and fifteen thousand Irish soldiers. The river Boyne ran between his army and king William's: this river was fordable, the water not being higher than the men's shoulders; but after it was passed, there was a deep marsh to cross before they could attack the Irish army, after which a steep ground presented itself, which formed a kind of natural entrenchment. William made his army pass the river in July, three places, and began the battle. The Irish, 1690. who are known to be such good soldiers in France and Spain, have always behaved ill in their own country. There are certain nations which seem made to be subject to another; the English have always been superior to the Irish in genius, riches, and arms. Ireland has never been able to throw off the English yoke since first subdued by an English nobleman. The French stood their ground at the battle of the Boyne; the Irish gave way and fled. King James, who had not once made his appearance during the engagement, either at the head of the French or Irish, was the first to retreat, and yet he had given proofs of great courage on other occasions; but there are times when valour is lost in dispiritedness. K. William having had his shoulder grazed by a cannon-ball before the battle, it was reported and believed in France that he was killed. This false report was received at Paris with a scandalous and indecent joy. The citizens and populace, encouraged by some of the under-magistrates, made illuminations, rung the bells, and, in several quarters of the town, they burnt figures made of osier, to represent the prince of Orange, in the same manner as they burn the pope in London. The cannon of the Bastile were likewise fired, not by the king's order, but through the indiscreet zeal of the commandant. It might be supposed from these great marks of satisfaction, and what is said by a number of writers, that this mad joy at the supposed death of an enemy,

enemy, was the effect of the great dread they had of him. Almost every writer, French and English, have observed that these rejoicings were the greatest panegyric that could be made on William III. Nevertheless, if we only consider the circumstances of the times, and the spirit which then reigned, we shall presently discover that these transports of joy were not produced by fear. The lower kind of citizens, and the populace, know not what it is to fear an enemy, unless when he threatens their city. Far from dreading the name of William III. the common people in France were so unjust as to despise him. He had almost always been beaten by French generals. The vulgar were ignorant how much real glory that prince had acquired even in his defeats. William, the victor of James in Ireland, did not yet appear, in the eyes of the French, an enemy worthy of Lewis XIV. The people of Paris, who idolized their monarch, thought him absolutely invincible. The rejoicings then were not the effect of fear, but hatred; most of the Parisians, who were born under the reign of Lewis, and moulded to despotic sway, looked upon a king at that time as a demigod; and an usurper as a sacrilegious monster. The common people, who had seen James going every day to mass, detested William as an heretic. The idea of a son-in-law and a daughter, protestants, driving their father, a catholic, from his throne, and reigning in his stead, together with that of an enemy to their king, transported the Parisians to a degree of fury; but prudent people were of a more moderate way of thinking.

James returned to France, leaving his rival to gain new battles in Ireland, and settle himself on the throne. The French fleets were then employed in bringing back their countrymen, who had fought to no purpose, and the Irish Roman Catholics, who being extremely poor in their own country, chose to go over to France and subsist upon the king's liberality.

Fortune had apparently very little share in any part of this revolution, from the beginning to the end. The characters of William and James did every thing. Those who delight to trace the causes of events in the
conduct

conduct of men will remark, that king William, after his victory, caused a general amnesty to be published; and that king James, on the contrary, in his way through a little town called Galway, hanged some of the inhabitants, who had advised shutting the gates against him. Of two men behaving in this manner, we may easily perceive who would be most likely to prevail.

There were still some towns in Ireland that remained in James's interests, and among the rest Limerick, in which there were above twelve thousand soldiers. The French king, who still persevered in supporting James's desperate fortunes, ordered three thousand regular troops to be transported over to Limerick; and by an additional generosity he sent all provisions necessary for the maintenance of a numerous garrison. Forty transport vessels, under the convoy of twelve ships of war, carried over every needful supply of workmen's tools, carriages, engineers, gunners, bombardiers, with two hundred masons, a number of saddles, bridles, and harnesses for upwards of twenty thousand horse; cannon, with their carriages, muskets, pistols, and swords for twenty-six thousand men; besides provisions and cloathing, even to shoes. Limerick, though besieged, being thus abundantly furnished with supplies of every kind, hoped to see its king fight in its defence; but James not appearing, Limerick surrendered, and the French ships returned once more to the coast of Ireland, and brought back to France about twenty thousand soldiers and inhabitants.

What is perhaps more extraordinary than all the rest is, that Lewis was not discouraged by these continual disappointments; and though he had a difficult war to support against the greatest part of Europe, he nevertheless endeavoured once more to change the fortune of the unhappy king of England, by a decisive stroke, by making a descent in England with twenty thousand men, which were assembled between Cherburg and La Hogue. Upwards of three hundred sail of transport vessels lay ready to receive them at Brest. Fourville, with forty-four capital ships, cruised off the coast of Normandy

mandy to wait for them. D'Estrée arrived in the port of Toulon with thirty ships more. July 29, 1692. As there are some misfortunes which arise from bad conduct, so there are others that can only be imputed to fortune. The wind, which was at first favourable to D'Estrée's squadron, changed, and made it impossible for him to join Tourville, who with his forty-four ships was attacked by the combined fleets of England and Holland, consisting of near an hundred sail: the French were obliged to yield to superior numbers; but not till after an obstinate fight of ten hours. Russel, the English admiral, pursued him for two days. Fourteen large ships, of which there were two that carried one hundred and four guns, ran ashore, and the captains set fire to them*, to prevent their being burnt by the enemy. King James, who was a spectator of this disaster, from that neighbouring shore, saw all his hopes at once swallowed up.

This was the first check which had been given to the power of Lewis XIV. at sea. Seignelai, who, after the death of Colbert, his father, had continued to improve the French navy, died himself in 1690. Pontchartain, who had been raised from the place of first president of Brittany, to that of secretary for the marine department, did not suffer it to decay under his jurisdiction. The same spirit still continued in the administration. France had as many ships at sea after the fatal blow at La Hogue as she had before; for Tourville commanded a fleet of sixty ships of the line, and D'Estrée one of thirty, exclusive of those which were in harbour; and not above four years afterwards (in 1696,) the king fitted out another armament,

* The English historians say the French fleet amounted to sixty-three ships of the line, and that a greater number of the French than of the English were engaged. Certain it is, Russel's own ship disabled the Rising Sun, a ship of one hundred and four guns, commanded by Tourville in person. She was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, near Cherbourg, together with the Admirable, another first rate, and the Conquerant, of eighty guns. Eighteen other great ships of the French fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp.

armament, still more considerable than any of the former ones, to transport James over to England, at the head of twenty thousand French, but this fleet only made its appearance on the coast; for the measures of James's party in London were as ill concerted as those of his protector were well laid in France.

The dethroned king's party had now no hopes left but in hatching plots against the life of his rival; and almost all those who were concerned in these attempts suffered by the hands of the executioner: besides, it is more than probable, that, had they succeeded, he would never have recovered his kingdom. He passed the remainder of his days at St. Germain, where he lived on Lewis's bounty, and a pension of seventy thousand Francs *, which he was mean spirited enough to receive privately from his daughter Mary, who had been accessory in dethroning him. He died at St. Germain in the year 1700. Some Irish Jesuits pretended to assert that miracles were performed at his tomb†. They even talked at Rome of canonizing after his death a prince whom they had abandoned when living.

Few princes were more unhappy than James; nor have we an example in history of a family for so long a time unfortunate. The first of the kings of Scotland, his ancestors, who bore the name of James, after having been detained for eighteen years a prisoner in England, was murdered, together with his queen ‡, by his own subjects. James II. the son of this prince, was killed in battle, against the English, at nineteen years of age ||. James III. after being imprisoned by his subjects, was slain by the rebels in fight. James IV. fell in a battle which he lost. Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter, after being driven from her throne, and forced to take refuge in England, where she languished eighteen years in prison, was at length condemned to die by English judges, and lost her head on a scaffold: Charles I. grand-son

* About three thousand sterling. per ann.

† They even carried the farce so far as to pretend that his relics cured the bishop of Autun of a fistula.

‡ His wife was wounded, but recovered.

|| James II. was killed by accident at Roxburgh.

son to this Mary, and king of England and Scotland, was sold by the Scots, sentenced to death by the English, and executed publicly as a traitor. His son James, the subject of this chapter, was driven from three kingdoms, and to crown the misfortunes of the family, even the birth of his son was disputed. This son, by the efforts he made to recover the throne of his fathers, brought many of his friends to an untimely end; and of late days we have seen prince Charles Edward, in whom the virtues of his ancestors, and the valour of king John Sobieski, his grandfather by the mother's side, were in vain united, performing exploits, and suffering calamities almost beyond the reach of credit. If any thing can justify those who believe in an unavoidable fatality, it must be the continued series of misfortunes which have beset the family of the Stuarts for upwards of three hundred years.

C H A P. CLXXIX.

Of what passed on the Continent, while WILLIAM III. was invading ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, till the year 1697. The burning of the PALATINATE. Victories of the marechals CATINAT and LUXEMBOURG.

NOT having been willing to break in upon the chain of affairs in England in the preceding chapter, I now return to what passed on the continent.

While Lewis was thus forming such a maritime force as had never been exceeded by any state, he had to make head against the emperor and princes of the Empire, Spain, the two maritime powers of England and Holland, become both more formidable under one chief, Savoy, and almost all Italy. One such enemy, as England and Spain, would have been sufficient in former times to have ruined France; and yet all of them united could not now make any impression upon her. The king

king had almost constantly five different armies on foot during the course of this war ; sometimes six, but never less than four. The armies in Germany and Flanders frequently amounted to one hundred thousand effective men. The frontier places were at the same time provided with garrisons. Lewis had four hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, including the marine troops. The Turkish empire, so powerful in Europe, never had so great a number ; and even the Roman empire had not more ; nor were there ever so many wars carried on at a time. Those who blame Lewis XIV. for having made himself so many enemies, cannot but admire the measures which he took to defend himself ; and even to be beforehand with his enemies.

These had not as yet entirely declared themselves, nor were they all united. The prince of Orange had not yet sailed from the Texel, upon his expedition against his father-in-law, when France had armies upon the frontiers of Holland, and on the borders of the Rhine. The king had sent his son, the dauphin, who was called Monseigneur, into Germany, with an army of twenty thousand men. This prince was gentle in his manners, modest in his deportment, and seemed greatly to resemble his mother. He was then twenty-seven years old, and this was the first time he had been intrusted with a command, after his behaviour had given sufficient proofs that he would not make an ill use of his power. The king spoke to him in public thus, at his departure. " My son, in sending you to command my armies, I give you an opportunity of making your merit known : go and display it to all Europe, that when I depart this life it may not be perceived that the king is dead."

The prince had a special commission for this command, as if he had been only a private general, whom the king had made choice of. The king's letters were directed, " To our son the Dauphin, our lieutenant-general, commanding our armies in Germany."

Every thing had been so ordered and disposed beforehand, that the son of Lewis XIV. who assisted in this expedition with his name and presence, might not be liable to meet with an affront. The marshal de Du-

ras had in fact the command of the army. Boufflers had a body of troops on this side the Rhine, and marshal d'Humieres another near Cologne, to watch the motions of the enemy. Heidelberg and Mentz were taken: the siege of Philipsburg, which is always the first step to be taken when the French make war in Germany, was already begun, under the inspection of Vauban. Such matters as were not in his department fell to the share of Catinat, then lieutenant-general, a man capable of every thing, and formed for all exploits. Monseigneur arrived six days after the trenches had been opened. He exactly observed his father's conduct, exposing his person as much as was necessary, but never rashly; treating every one with affability, and extending his liberality even to the private soldier. The king felt a sincere joy in having a son who thus imitated, without exceeding him, and who made himself beloved by every one, without giving his father any occasion to fear him.

Philipsburg was taken in nineteen days, Nov. 11, and Manheim in three, Frankendal surrendered in two; and Spire, Triers, Worms, 1688. and Oppenheim, threw open their gates at the first approach of the French.

The king had resolved to make a desert of the Palatinate as soon as those towns were taken. His design in this was rather to cut off all means of subsistence from the enemy, than to take vengeance on the elector, whose only crime was that of having done his duty, in joining with the rest of Germany against France. An order came to the army from the king, signed Louvois, to reduce the whole country to ashes. The French generals were then obliged to obey; and though it was in the very midst of winter, caused notice to be sent to the inhabitants of all these flourishing towns, and the villages round about, and to the masters of above fifty castles, to quit their dwellings; and that they were going to destroy every thing with fire and sword. Upon this dreadful summons, men, women, old people and children, hurried out in the utmost haste: some of whom wandered up and down the fields, and the rest took refuge in the neighbouring countries, while the soldiery,



foldiery, who always exceed commands of rigour, and seldom or never execute those of clemency, burned and pillaged their country. They began with Manheim, the residence of the electors, whose palaces they levelled with the ground, as well as the private houses of the citizens; broke open their very tombs, thinking to satisfy their avarice with the immense treasures they expected to find there, and scattered their ashes abroad. This was the second time that this beautiful country had been laid waste by Lewis's orders; but the burning of two cities and twenty villages by Turenne was but a spark in comparison of this conflagration. All Europe was struck with horror at this action. The very officers who executed it were ashamed of being the instruments of such cruelty. The blame was thrown upon the marquis of Louvois, who had contracted that insensibility of heart which arises from a long administration. He was certainly the person who advised this proceeding; but Lewis had it in his power to reject or follow his counsel: Had the king been a witness to this spectacle, he would have ran in person to extinguish the flames. From his palace in Versailles, where he was surrounded by pleasures, he signed the destruction of a whole country, because he there beheld only his own glory and the fatal right of conquest in the order he gave; but had he been nearer to the spot, he would have seen all the horror of it. The nations, who till then had only blamed his ambition, and admired his other qualifications, now cried out against his cruelty, and even condemned his politics: for had his enemies penetrated into his dominions, as he did into theirs, they would have set all the cities in his kingdom on fire.

Nor was this a very remote danger: Lewis, in covering his frontiers with one hundred thousand soldiers, taught Germany to make the same efforts. This country, being better peopled than France, may be able to raise larger armies. They have more difficulty indeed in raising, getting together, and paying them, and they are longer before they take the field; but their strict discipline and patience under fatigues, make them at the
end

end of a campaign as formidable as the French are at the beginning. The army of the empire was commanded by the duke of Lorraine, Charles V. This prince, who was still kept out of his dominions by Lewis XIV. had preserved the empire for Leopold, and given him the victory over the Turks and Hungarians. He now came with the elector of Brandenburg, to put a check to the success of the French king's arms. He retook Bonn and Mentz, two towns which were very badly fortified, but defended in a manner which was esteemed a model for the future defence of places. Bonn did not surrender till after a siege of near four months, and that the baron d'Asfeld, who commanded there, was mortally wounded in a general assault.

The marquis d'Uxelles, afterwards marshal of France, a most prudent and wary general, had made such excellent dispositions for the defence of Mentz, that his garrison suffered hardly any fatigue in the great service it performed: besides the care he took to provide for the safety of the place, he made one-and-twenty sallies upon the enemy, and killed upwards of five thousand of their men. He sometimes made one or two sallies in open day-light: in short, he maintained the place for seven weeks, and surrendered at length only for want of powder. This vigorous defence deserves a place in history, both on account of its own merit, and the approbation it met with from the world. Paris, that immense city, whose indolent inhabitants pretend to judge of every thing, and who have so many ears and tongues, with so few eyes, looked upon d'Uxelles as a timorous man, and deficient in judgment. When this great commander, on whom every good officer will bestow a just praise, after his return from the campaign, went to the play-house, the populace hooted him, and cried out Mentz! Upon which he was obliged to retire, not without heartily contemning, as every wise man must do, a people who are such bad judges of merit, and whose praise, nevertheless, is so greedily sought after.

About

June, 1689. About the same time, marshal d'Humieres was beat at Walcourt*, on the Sambre, in the Netherlands, by the prince of Waldeck; but this check, tho' it hurt his reputation, very little affected the French arms. Louvois, whose creature and friend he was, found himself under the necessity of taking from him the command of this army, which was conferred on marshal Luxembourg, whom neither the king nor Louvois liked; but their regard for the state got the better of their aversion to the man, and they made use of his services, though with some repugnance. He was therefore appointed commander in the Netherlands. Louvois was remarkable for correcting a too hasty choice, or for making a good one. Catinat was sent with a command into Italy. Marshal de Lorges defended himself every where in Germany. The duke of Noailles had some little success in Catalonia †; but under Luxembourg in Flanders, and Catinat in Italy, there was a continual succession of victories. These two generals were at that time esteemed the greatest in Europe.

The marshal duke of Luxembourg, in some parts of his character, resembled the great Condé, whose pupil he was in the art of war. He had a fiery genius, a prompt execution, a quick discernment, a mind greedy of knowledge; but too extensive and irregular: he was continually engaged in female intrigues, always in love, and frequently beloved, though deformed and ill-favoured, and had more of the qualifications of a hero than a wise man.

Catinat

* The prince of Waldeck, who commanded the Dutch army, was reinforced by eleven thousand English, under the earl of Marlborough. Marechal d'Humieres attacked the foragers at Walcourt, and an obstinate engagement ensuing, was obliged to retreat in confusion, with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. Mean while, a little army of observation, commanded by the prince de Vaudemont, levelled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions in the territories of France.

† His success in that country was but small. He had indeed reduced Campredon in the month of May; but he was afterwards obliged to withdraw the garrison, dismantle the place, and retreat to the frontiers of France with great precipitation.

Catinat * had an application and activity in his disposition, that made him capable of every thing, though he never piqued himself upon any one particular qualification. He would have been equally as good a minister and chancellor as he was a general. In the earlier part of his life he followed the law ; but quitted that profession at the age of twenty-three, because he lost a cause in which he had justice on his side. He then took up arms, and was at first an ensign in the French guards. In the year 1667, at the attack of the counterscarp of Lisle, he performed an action in the presence of the king, which required both understanding and courage. The king took notice of him, and this was the beginning of his good fortune. He rose by degrees, without making any interest : he was a philosopher in the midst of war and grandeur, those two fatal rocks to moderation ; exempt from all kind of prejudice, without the affectation of appearing to despise them too much ; and an utter stranger to gallantry, and the arts of courts, but a sincere friend, and an honest man. He lived a professed foe both to interest and vain-glory, and was equally the philosopher in all respects at the hour of his death, as through the course of his life.

Catinat commanded at that time in Italy, where he was opposed by Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy ; who was then a wise, politic, and still more unfortunate prince : a warrior of remarkable courage, who always led his own armies, and exposed his person like a common man : no one better understood that deceitful kind of war which is carried on in a mountainous and uneven country, such as his was : he was active, vigilant, a lover of order, but sometimes guilty of errors, both as a prince and a general. He is said to have committed an essential one in the bad manner in which he drew up his army in presence of that of Catinat. The French
general

* We may perceive, by madame de Maintenon's letters, that she was no friend to marshal Catinat. She appears to have a very indifferent opinion of him, and calls his modesty pride. It would seem, that the little knowledge which this lady had of men and business, and the bad choices she made, contributed not a little to the misfortunes which afterwards befel France.

general took advantage of his mistake, and gained a complete victory over him in fight of Saluces, near the abbey of Stafarola, from which that battle took its name. When there are a number of men killed on one side, and hardly any on the other, it is a certain proof that the army which is beaten, was drawn up on a ground where it must necessarily be overpowered. The French had only three hundred men killed, and the allied army, commanded by the duke of Savoy, upwards of four thousand. After this battle, all Savoy, except Montmelian, submitted to the king. Catinat then marched into Piedmont, forced the enemy's entrenchments 1691. near Susa; took that town, together with Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, deemed impregnable, Veillano, and Carmagnole, and returned afterwards to Montmelian, of which he made himself master after an obstinate siege.

After all these successes the ministry lessened the army which he commanded, and the duke of Savoy augmented his. Catinat, inferior in numbers to his conquered enemy, remained a long time upon the defensive; but at length having received a reinforcement, he descended the Alps, near Marseilles, and there Oct. 4, gained a second pitched battle, which was the 1693. more glorious as prince Eugene of Savoy was then one of the enemy's generals*.

At the other extremity of France, towards the Netherlands, marshal Luxembourg gained the battle of Fleurus, and by the confession of all the officers this victory was entirely owing to the superiority of genius in the French general over prince Waldeck, who then commanded the allied army. Eight thousand men taken prisoners, six thousand killed, two hundred stand of colours,

* In this battle the duke of Schomberg, son to him who fell at the Boyne, was mortally wounded, fighting gloriously at the head of a body of Vaudois in the pay of Great-Britain. In the preceding campaign, Catinat had been obliged to abandon Piedmont, when the duke of Savoy penetrated into Dauphiné, and filled all the south of France with consternation. Had he prosecuted his success, he might have reduced Lyons, and all the towns in that neighbourhood: but he was seized with the small pox, and supposed to be soothed into forbearance by the intrigues of the French ministry.

lours, almost all the cannon and baggage, and the flight of the enemy, were sufficient proofs of the victory*.

King William was just returned back from his victory over his father-in-law. This great genius, ever fertile in resources, made more advantage of the defeat of his party than the French often did of their victories. He had been obliged to have recourse to intrigues and negotiations, to procure men and money sufficient to oppose to a king who had only to say, "I will." Nevertheless, after the defeat at Fleutus, he came Sept. 19, 1691. to meet marshal Luxembourg with an army as strong as that of the French.

They each consisted of about eighty thousand men; but the marshal had already invested Mons, April, when William thought the French had hardly left their winter-quarters. Lewis himself came 1691. to be present at the siege, and entered the town the ninth day after opening the trenches, in sight of the enemy's army. After that he returned to Versailles, and left Luxembourg to dispute the field during the whole campaign, which ended with the battle of Liege, a very extraordinary action, in which twenty-eight squadrons of the king's household troops and Sept. 19, 1691. the gendarmerie, defeated seventy five squadrons of the enemy's army.

The king next repaired to the siege of Namur, the strongest place in the Netherlands, both by its situation, which is at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maese, and by its citadel, which is built on rocks. He took the town in eight days time, and the castles June, in twenty-two, while the duke of Luxembourg 1692. prevented king William from passing the Meuse, at the head of eighty thousand men, to raise the siege. After this conquest Lewis returned again to Versailles, and Luxembourg still continued to make head against the enemy's force. Now it was that the battle of Steinkirk

* This victory, got by a great superiority of number, was dearly purchased. The Dutch infantry fought with surprising Resolution. The duke of Luxembourg owned with surprise, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck (said he) ought always to remember the French horse: and I shall ever forget the Dutch infantry."

kirk was fought, so famous for the art and courage displayed therein. A spy, which the French king had sent to watch the motions of king William, was discovered, and compelled, before he was led to execution, to write a false information to marshal Luxembourg, who, immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, made such dispositions as must necessarily bring on a battle. His army was attacked at day-break, while every one was asleep in their tents, and one entire brigade cut in pieces before the general knew any thing of the matter. Without the extremest diligence and bravery, all would have been lost.

It was not enough to be a great general to prevent a total defeat ; it likewise required well disciplined troops, capable of rallying in an instant, general officers sufficiently skilful to recover these troops from the disorder into which they were thrown, and willing to do their duty ; for a single officer of rank who had a mind to take advantage of the general confusion to cause his general's defeat, might easily have done it without exposing himself to a detection.

The marshal was then ill, a fatal circumstance, at a time when uncommon activity was required ; but the greatness of the danger restored him to his strength
 Aug. 3, it was necessary to perform prodigies not to be
 1692. overcome, and he performed them ; he changed his ground, gave a field of battle to his army which before had none, recovered the right wing, which was all in confusion, rallied his men three times, and three times charged at the head of the household troops, and all this in less than two hours. He had with him in his army the duke of Chartres, afterwards regent of the kingdom, a grandson of France, who was then not above fifteen years old. He could be of no service in striking a decisive blow ; but it contributed not a little to animate the soldiers, when they saw a grandson of France charging at the head of the king's household troops, and, though wounded in the fight, returning again to the charge.

A grandson and grand-nephew of the great Condé both served in this army as lieutenant-generals ; one of these

these was Lewis of Bourbon, called Monsieur the duke, and the other Armand prince of Conti, both rivals in courage, wit, ambition, and fame. Monsieur was of a more austere disposition, and had perhaps more solid qualifications, and the prince of Conti more brilliant ones. Being both called by the public voice to the command of armies, they earnestly longed for that honour, which, however, they never obtained; because Lewis, who was as well acquainted with their ambition as their merit, always remembered that the prince of Condé had made war against him.

The prince of Conti was the first who recovered the army from its confusion, by rallying some of the brigades, and making the rest advance. Monsieur did just the same, without standing in need of emulation. The duke of Vendôme, grandson to Henry IV. was likewise a lieutenant general in this army; he had served ever since he was twelve years of age, and though he was then upwards of forty, he had never yet commanded in chief. His brother the grand prior was by his side.

It was necessary that all these princes should put themselves at the head of the king's household troops, in order to drive a body of English from an advantageous post, on which the success of the battle depended. The French household troops and the English were the best troops in the world. The slaughter was great; but the French, animated by the croud of princes and young noblemen who fought about the general's person, at length carried the post; and when the English were defeated*, the rest were obliged to yield.

Boufflers, who was afterwards marshal of France, flew with a body of dragoons from a place where he was, at some distance from the field of battle, and his arrival

VOL. VI.

C

completed

* The prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded the attack on the side of the allies, with a body of British, Danish and Dutch troops, finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, sent an aid de camp twice to demand succours of count Solmes, who headed the centre: but that officer derided his distress, saying, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make." In this battle, the earl of Angus, general Mackay, sir John Lamer, sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant British officers, lost their lives.

completed the victory. King William, after having lost about seven thousand men, retired in as good order as he had attacked; and always beaten, and always formidable, he still kept the field. This victory, which was owing to the valour of the young princes and the flower of the nobility of the kingdom, produced an effect at court, in the city, and in the provinces, that no former victory had ever done.

Monsieur the duke, the prince of Conti, M. de Vendôme, and their friends, on their return home from this campaign, found the roads lined with people, whose acclamations and expressions of joy were carried even to a degree of madness. The women all strove to attract their regards. The men at that time wore lace cravats, which took up some time and pains to adjust. The princes having dressed themselves in a hurry, threw these cravats negligently about their necks. The ladies wore handkerchiefs made in this fashion, which they called Steinkirks. Every new toy was a Steinkirk. any young man who happened to have been present at this battle, was looked upon with delight. The populace followed the princes every where in crouds, and they were the more beloved, because the court did not shew them favour equal to their reputation and merit.

The ensuing campaign the same general, the same princes, with the same troops, who had been surprised and yet victorious at Steinkirk, made a forced march of seven leagues, and came unawares upon William at Nervinde, and beat him. Nervinde is a village near the Layette, a few leagues distance from Brussels. William had time to put his army in order of battle. Luxembourg and the princes carried the village sword in hand two different times, and the instant the marshal turned another way, the enemy retook it again; at length the general and the princes carried it a third time, and the battle was won. Few actions proved
 July 29, more bloody. There were about twenty thousand
 1693. killed on both sides; the allies lost twelve thousand and the French eight. On this occasion, it

was

was said there was more room to sing *De profundis* *, than *Te Deum*.

These numerous victories were productive of much glory, but few great advantages. The allies, tho' defeated at Fleurus, Steinkirk, and Nervinde †, had never been completely beaten; king William always made fine retreats; and, in a fortnight's time after one battle, it was necessary to fight another with him to be master of the campaign. The cathedral of Paris was filled with colours taken from the enemy. The prince of Conti called marshal Luxembourg "the Upholsterer of Notre Dame." Nothing was talked of but victories, and yet Lewis XIV. had formerly conquered one half of Holland and Flanders, and all the Franche Comté, without fighting a single battle; whereas now, after the greatest efforts and the most bloody victories, they could hardly force an entrance into the United Provinces; they could not even lay siege to Brussels. Marshal de Lorges had likewise on his Sept. 1 and 2, side gained a considerable advantage 1692. over the allies near Spirebach, and had even taken the old duke of Wirtemberg prisoner, and penetrated into his country; but, after having invaded it as a conqueror, he was obliged to quit it again. Monseigneur took and plundered the city of Heidelberg a second time, which the enemy had retaken, and after all was obliged to act upon the defensive against the Imperialists.

Marshal Catinat, notwithstanding his great victory at Stafarola, and having conquered Savoy, could not prevent the duke of that country from making an irruption into Dauphiné, nor, after his victory at Marseilles, could he save the important city of Casal.

In Spain the marshal de Noailles gained a battle on

C 2

the

* A hymn sung in the funeral-service in the Roman-catholic churches.

† This action the English distinguish by the name of the battle of Lunden. King William made great efforts of courage and perseverance; but his original disposition was so erroneous, that as soon as Luxembourg saw it, he cried, "Now I believe Waldeck is really dead."

May 27, the banks of the Ter ; he took Girone and
 1694. some small places ; but his army was weak,
 and he was obliged, after his victory, to re-
 tire from before Barcelona. The French, every where
 victorious, and weakened by their successes, had an
 hydra to engage in the allies, that was continually
 rising up afresh. France began to find it difficult to
 raise recruits, and still more so to procure
 1691. money. The rigour of the season, by which
 the fruits of the earth were at that time wholly
 destroyed, brought on a famine. Numbers perished for
 want, while the whole kingdom resounded with *Te*
Deums and rejoicings. The spirit of confidence and
 superiority, which had been the soul of the French
 troops, began visibly to diminish. Lewis XIV.
 1691. no longer appeared at their head, Louvois was
 dead, and Barbesieux, his son, was generally
 disliked by them. To crown all, the death of mar-
 shal Luxembourg, under whom they thought
 January, themselves invincible, seemed to put an end
 1695. to the rapid victories of the French.

The art of bombarding towns with ships now turned
 upon its inventors ; not that the engine called Infernal,
 with which the English attempted to burn St. Malo, and
 that failed of success, was of French invention ; ma-
 chines of this kind had been for a long time of use in
 Europe. It was the art of throwing bombs with as
 much certainty from a moving vessel as from the solid
 ground, that the French invented ; and it was by this
 art that the English had from their ships bombarded the
 towns of Dieppe, Havre-de-grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk,
 and Calais ; Dieppe, as being the most easy
 July 1694, of access ; was the place which suffered the
 and 1695. most real damage. This town, which is now
 so delightful on account of the regularity of its build-
 ings, and that seems to owe its beauty to its misfortunes,
 was almost reduced to ashes. There were not above
 twenty houses beaten down and burnt in Havre de Grace ;
 but the fortifications of the place were entirely destroy-
 ed. In this sense it is that the medal struck by the Dutch
 is true, notwithstanding that so many French writers
 have

have inveighed against its falsity. In the exergue we find these words in Latin : *The harbour of Havre burnt and destroyed*, &c. this inscription does not tell us that the town was burnt, that would have been false ; it only says that the harbour was burnt, which is true.

Soon afterwards the French lost Namur, which they had taken. The nation had lavished encomiums on Lewis XIV. for having conquered this place ; and the most indecent fallies had been thrown out against king William for not having succoured it with an army of eighty thousand men. William at length became master of it, by the same manner in which it had been lost. He attacked it in the face of an army much stronger than his own was at the time that Lewis XIV. laid siege to it. He now met with new fortifications of Vauban's raising. The French garrison which defended this town was an army of itself ; for while they were preparing matters to invest it, marshal Boufflers found means to throw himself into it with seven regiments of dragoons ; so that Namur was not only defended by sixteen thousand men, but was daily in expectation of being relieved by an army of an hundred thousand.

Marshal Boufflers had a great share of merit, was an active and diligent general, and a good citizen, who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of the service, to promote which he valued neither his pains nor his life. The marquis de Feuquieres, in his Memoirs, accuses him of several faults in the defence of the town and citadel, and even blames his conduct in the defence of Lisle, by which he gained so much honour. Those who have written the history of Lewis XIV. have servilely copied the marquis de Feuquieres in military matters, and the abbé de Choisi in private anecdotes. They could not know that Feuquieres, who was an excellent officer, and perfectly well versed both in the theory and practice of war, was of a disposition as morose as discerning, and sometimes the Aristarchus, sometimes the Zoilus of generals. He alters facts, to have the pleasure of censuring ; he complains of every one, and every one of him ; he was esteemed the bravest man in Europe, because he slept quietly

in the midst of a hundred thousand of his enemies. His merit not having been rewarded with the staff of marshal of France, he employed his great parts too much against the servants of the state, which would have been extremely useful, had he been as mild and charitable as he was discerning, diligent, and bold.

He charged the marshal de Villeroi with a greater number of faults, and those more essential than even Boufflers. Villeroi, at the head of twenty thousand men, was to have relieved Namur; but even had the two marshals, Villeroi and Boufflers, done every thing, generally speaking, that they might have done, (which is very seldom the case) the situation of the ground was such, that Namur could not be relieved, and must be taken sooner or later. An army of observation posted along the banks of the Meuse had prevented king William from bringing up his succours; the same thing now necessarily happened to marshal Villeroi.

Though marshal Boufflers, the count de Guiscard, governor of the town, the count de Laumont du Châtelet, commandant of the infantry, and all the officers and soldiers in the place, defended it with remarkable obstinacy and bravery, it retarded the capitulation only two days. When a town is besieged by a superior army, when the works are well carried on, and the season favourable, they can judge nearly within what time it will be taken, be the defence ever so vigorous. King William made Sept. himself master of the town and citadel at length, 1695. though not in so short a time as Lewis XIV.

The king, while he was thus losing Namur, bombarded Brussels; a poor revenge, which he took of the emperor for his towns which had been bombarded by the English; all this occasioned a war equally ruinous and fatal to both parties.

One of the effects of human industry and fury, for these two centuries past, has been that of not confining the havock of war to our own continent of Europe. We drain ourselves of men and money, to carry

carry destruction against each other into the farther parts of Asia and America. The Indians, whom we have compelled by force or artifice to admit our settlements amongst them, and the Americans, from whom we have rested their continent, after having dyed it with their blood, look upon us as the foes of human kind, who came from the farthest part of the globe to butcher them, and afterwards to destroy one another.

The French had no other colony in the East Indies but that of Pondicherry, which had been formed by Colbert with great pains, and at an immense expence, and from whence no considerable advantage could be drawn for several years; the Dutch easily made themselves masters of it, and thus destroyed the trade of the French in the East-Indies, almost in its infancy.

Our plantations in St. Domingo were destroyed by the English, and one of the Brest privateers laid waste theirs at Gambia, on the coast of Africa. 1695. The privateers of St. Malo carried fire and sword into the eastern part of Newfoundland, of which they were in possession; and our squadrons insulted their island of Jamaica, took and burnt their shipping there, and ravaged the coast.

Polntis, commander of a squadron of ships of war and some privateers of America, sailed as far as the line, and surprised the town of Carthagena, the magazine and staple for the Spanish treasures, which come from Mexico; the damage he did there was computed at twenty millions of our livres, and the booty he got at about half that sum. There is always some deduction to be made from such calculations, but little or none from the grievous calamities occasioned by these glorious expeditions. May, 1697.

The French privateers, and especially Duguétrouin, were every day making prizes of the English and Dutch merchant-ships. This man was very extraordinary in his way, and wanted only a numerous fleet to have acquired as great reputation as Dragut or Barbarossa. The enemy made less rich prizes from the French, be-

cause they had less to be taken. Our trade was greatly impaired by the death of Colbert and the war.

A general misery then was the result of these expeditions by sea and land. Those who delight more in humanity than politics, will readily observe, that in this war Lewis XIV. took up arms against his brother-in-law the king of Spain, against the elector of Bavaria, to whose sister he had married his son the dauphin, and against the elector palatine, whose country he burnt, though his brother was married to the princess-palatine. King James likewise was driven from his throne by his son-in-law and his own daughter; and since that time we have seen the duke of Savoy in league against France, where he had one daughter a dauphiness, and against Spain, where another was queen. Most of the wars between Christian princes are, in some sort, civil wars.

The most criminal enterprise in all this war proved the only truly fortunate one; William was perfectly successful in England and Ireland; in other places the successes were more equal. When I call this a criminal undertaking, I do not examine whether the nation, after having shed the blood of the father, were right or wrong in banishing the son, and maintaining its religion and privileges; I only say, that if there is any justice on earth, the daughter and son-in-law of king James ought not to have driven him from his throne and kingdom.

C H A P. CLXXX.

Treaty with SAVOY. Marriage of the Duke of BURGUNDY. Peace of RYSWICK. State of FRANCE and EUROPE. Death and last will of CHARLES II. King of SPAIN.

FRANCE still maintained her superiority over all her enemies; some she had crushed, as the duke of Savoy and the elector-palatine, and she carried the war to the frontiers of the others, like a powerful and robust body, fatigued with a long resistance, and exhausted

hausted by its victories; a well-directed blow would have made her stagger. Whoever has a number of enemies at once can at last find his safety only in their division, or in a peace. Lewis XIV. obtained both the one and the other.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was a prince of all others the most easily persuaded to break his engagements, when his interest was concerned; to him the court of France addressed itself. The count de Tessé, afterwards marshal of France, an amiable and able man, of a genius formed for pleasing, which is the first qualification of a negociator, had begun a private treaty at Turin; and marshal Catinat, who was equally capable of making peace and war, put the finishing hand to the affair. There did not want two such able men to determine the duke of Savoy to accept of what was to his advantage; they restored him his country, gave him a sum of money, and proposed a marriage between the young duke of Burgundy, son to Monseigneur, the heir to the crown of France, and his daughter. Matters were soon agreed upon: the duke and Catinat concluded the treaty at Our Lady of Loreto, whither they went under pretence of a pilgrimage of devotion; which however imposed upon no one. The pope (who was then Innocent XIV.) entered heartily into this negociation. His view was to deliver Italy at once from the invasions of the French, and the taxes which the emperor was continually levying to pay his troops. It was thought necessary that the Imperialists should evacuate Italy, and leave it neuter; this the duke of Savoy engaged himself by the treaty to observe. The emperor gave a flat denial at first; for the court of Vienna rarely came to a determination, but at the last extremity. Upon the emperor's refusal, the duke joined his troops to the French army; and, from generalissimo to the emperor became, in less than a month, generalissimo to Lewis XIV. His daughter, who was only eleven years of age, was carried into France to be married to the duke of Burgundy, who was thirteen. After the falling off of the duke of Savoy, it happened, as

July,
1696.

at the peace of Nimeguen, that each of the allies thought proper to treat. The emperor agreed to leave Italy neuter. The Dutch proposed the castle of Ryf-wick, near the Hague, as the place for holding the conferences for a general peace. Four armies, which the king had on foot, contributed not a little to bring matters to a speedy conclusion. There were eighty thousand men in Flanders under Villeroi; the marshal de Choiseul had forty thousand men on the banks of the Rhine; Catinat had another army in Piedmont; and the duke of Vendôme, who had at length attained the rank of general, after having passed through all the degrees, from that of the king's guard, like a private foldier of fortune, commanded a body of troops in Catalonia, where he gained a battle, and took Barcelona. These new efforts and successes proved the most effectual mediation. The court of Rome offered its ar-

Sept. bitration, which was refused, as at Nimeguen. Charles XI. king of Sweden was the mediator.

Oct. At length the peace was concluded; no longer
1697. with that haughty superiority and advantageous conditions, which had distinguished the greatness of Lewis XIV. but with a condescension and concession of rights on this side, that equally amazed the French and the allies. It was a long time believed that this peace had been concerted with the deepest policy.

It was pretended that the French king's grand design was, what it certainly ought to have been, to prevent the entire succession of the vast Spanish monarchy from devolving upon the other branch of the house of Austria. It is said he entertained hopes that the house of Bourbon might at least come in for a share in the dismemberment, and perhaps one day succeed to the whole. The formal renunciations made by his wife and mother seemed no other than trivial agreements, which ought to give way to new conjunctures. In this view, to aggrandize the house of France, it was necessary to shew some moderation towards Europe; not to incense so many powers, who were still full of suspicions. The peace gave him time to form new alliances,

alliances, settle the finances, gain over those whom he had occasion for, and to form new bodies of militia in the kingdom. It was necessary to give up something, in hopes of obtaining much more.

These were thought to be the private motives of the peace of Ryswick, which in the event actually procured the throne of Spain for the grandson of Lewis XIV. This notion, probable as it may appear, is not however true; neither Lewis XIV. nor his council had those views that they ought to have had in this affair. It is a strong example of the connection of the revolutions in this world, which govern men, by whom they seem to be conducted. The obvious interest of quickly possessing Spain, or at least a part of that monarchy, had not the least influence in the peace of Ryswick; this is acknowledged by the marquis de Torci, in his manuscript Memoirs. They made peace merely because they were weary of the war, and this war itself had been carried on without any particular object; at least on the side of the allies: it was only from the idle desire of humbling the greatness of Lewis; and in that monarch it was merely the consequence of that same greatness which would not hearken to concessions. King William had drawn over to his cause the emperor, the Empire, Spain, the United Provinces, and Savoy; Lewis XIV. found himself too far engaged to recede. The finest part of Europe had been laid waste, because the French king made use of the advantages he gained by the peace of Nimeguen in too haughty a manner. The league was formed rather against his person than the kingdom of France; the king thought himself secure of the reputation he had gained by arms, and was now desirous of adding that of moderation: the weakness which began to be sensibly felt in the finances, made him more ready to adopt such a conduct.

The political affairs were debated in the king's council, and the resolutions taken there: the marquis de Torci, then young, was only charged with the execution of them. The whole council was for peace, especially the duke of Beauvilliers, who set forth the miseries of the people with such energy, that madame de

de Maintenon was affected by it, and the king himself appeared not insensible; and it made the more impression, as they had fallen from that flourishing state, to which the minister Colbert had raised the kingdom. The great establishments of all kinds had cost immense sums, and no œconomy had been used to retrieve the confusion, occasioned by these extraordinary expences. This inward calamity astonished every one, because it had never been felt since Lewis XIV. had governed alone: these were the true causes of the peace of Ryswick, though doubtless some virtuous sentiments had an influence in it. Those who think that kings and ministers incessantly, and without bounds, sacrifice every thing to their ambition, are no less mistaken, than he who thinks they continually sacrifice to worldly happiness.

The king then restored to the Spaniards all those places, near the Pyrennees, that he had taken from them, and likewise the conquests he had made in Flanders during the last war, as Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai. He acknowledged William III. lawful king of England, whom he had till then treated as prince of Orange, a tyrant and an usurper. He promised not to assist his enemies for the future; and king James, whose name was left out in the treaty, remained at St Germain with the empty title of king, and a pension from Lewis XIV. Thus sacrificed by his protector to the necessity of the times, and already forgotten in Europe, he ceased to publish any new manifestos.

The sentences, which the courts of Brisac and Metz had awarded against so many sovereigns, and the reunions made at Alsace, those monuments of a dangerous power and pride, were abolished, and the bailiwicks that had been seized upon by form of law, were restored to their right masters.

Besides these concessions, Friburg, Brisac, Kheil, and Philipsburg, were restored to the empire; the king even submitted to destroy the fortress of Strasburg on the Rhine, Fort-Lewis, Traerbach, and Mount Royal, works on which the great Vauban had exhausted his art,

art, and the king his treasury. Europe was surpris'd, and the French displeas'd, to see Lewis XIV. make peace as if he had been conquer'd. Harlai, Creci, and Callieres, who sign'd this peace, durst not shew themselves either at court or in the city; they were loaded with reproaches and derision, as if they had taken a single step they had not been order'd by the ministry; they were reproach'd by the court with having betray'd the honour of the French nation, and afterwards they were applauded for having, by this treaty, prepar'd the way for the succession to the Spanish monarchy: but in truth they deserv'd neither censure nor praise.

It was by this peace, that France, at length, restor'd Lorraine to the family, which had been in possession of it for above seven hundred years. Duke Charles V. the prop of the empire, and conqueror of the Turks, was dead; his son Leopold, at the peace of Ryswick, took possession of his sovereignty, with the loss, indeed, of his real privileges, it not being allow'd him to have ramparts to his capital; but they could not deprive him of a much more noble privilege, that of doing good to his subjects; a privilege which no prince ever made a better use of than himself.

It were to be wish'd, that latest posterity may be inform'd, that one of the least powerful sovereigns in Europe was he, who did the most good to his people. He found Lorraine a desert waste; he repeopled and enrich'd it, and preserv'd it in peace, while the rest of Europe was desolated by war. He had always the prudence to keep well with France, and to make himself beloved in the empire; happily preserv'g that just medium, which hardly any prince, without power, has ever been able to maintain between two great potentates. He procur'd his people plenty, to which they had been long strangers; his noblesse, reduced to the last degree of wretchedness, were rais'd to a state of opulence, solely by his benefactions. If he saw the family-seat of a gentleman in ruins, he rebuilt it at his own expence; he paid their debts, portion'd out their daughters, and lavish'd presents with that art of giving, which rais'd them even above benefactions; bestowing
his

his gifts with the magnificence of a prince, and the politeness of a friend. The arts, which were held in the highest honour throughout his little province, produced a new circulation, which makes the riches of a state. His court was formed after the model of that of France, and the traveller hardly perceived a change of place in going to Luneville from Versailles. After the example of Lewis XIV. he advanced the belles lettres; he established a kind of university, without pedantry, at Luneville, where the young German nobility went to be formed. The true sciences were there taught in schools, where the theory of natural philosophy was demonstrated to the eye by the most curious apparatus. He sought out men of talents even in the shops and in the woods, brought them to light, and was himself their patron and rewarder. In a word, the whole business of his reign was to procure his nation tranquillity, riches, knowledge, and pleasure; "I would quit my sovereignty to-morrow, (said he) if I could no longer do good." Accordingly he tasted the satisfaction of being believed, and I myself saw, long after his death, his subjects shed tears in mentioning his name. When he died he left an example to be followed by the greatest kings; but he could not, during his life, be instrumental in preparing the way for his son to the throne of the empire.

At the time that Lewis XIV. was managing the affair of the peace of Ryfwick, which was to give him the Spanish succession, the throne of Poland became vacant. This was the only regal crown, then elective, in the world; natives and foreigners had equally a right to pretend to it, but to retain it required either a merit sufficiently striking, and properly supported by intrigues, to engage the suffrages, (as was the case with John Sobieski the late king) or else, money enough to buy the kingdom, which is almost always put up at auction.

The abbé, afterwards cardinal Polignac, had at first the art to engage the suffrages in favour of the prince of Conti, known by the valiant actions he had performed at Steinkirk and Nervinde. He had never the command in chief, nor was he admitted into the king's councils. The duke of Bourbon had an equal reputation as a warrior,

warrior, the duke of Vendôme a still greater, and yet his fame surpassed that of all others, by the great art of pleasing, and making himself of consequence, which no one possessed in a more eminent degree than himself. Polignac, whose talent lay in persuasion, determined the minds of the people in his favour; and, by dint of eloquence and promises, counterbalanced the money which Augustus, elector of Saxony, lavished among them. Lewis Francis, prince of Conti, was elected king by the majority of the nation, and pro- June 17, claimed by the primate of the kingdom. Au- 1697. gustus was elected two hours afterwards by another party, inferior in numbers; but he was a sovereign prince, and powerful, and had a body of troops in readiness on the frontiers of Poland. The prince of Conti was absent, destitute of money, men, and power, and had nothing on his side but his name, and cardinal de Polignac. It remained that Lewis XIV. should either prevent his accepting the crown, or furnish him with proper assistance to get the better of his competitor. It was thought that the French ministry did too much in sending the prince of Conti over, and too little in furnishing him with only a small squadron of ships, and a few bills of exchange, with which he arrived in the road of Dantzick: this was acting with that lukewarm policy, which begins an affair only to quit it again. They would not even receive the prince at Dantzick, and his bills of exchange were protested. The intrigues of the pope and the emperor, and the money and troops of Saxony, had already secured the crown on his rival's head; he returned then with the glory of having been chosen king, and France had the mortification of having made it appear, that she was not sufficiently powerful to make a king of Poland.

This disgrace, which befel the prince of Conti, did not interrupt the peace which subsisted between the Christian powers in the North. The South of Europe was soon afterwards restored to its tranquillity by the peace of Ryswick.

There was no longer any war but that which the Turks carried on against Germany, Poland, Venice, and Russia;

Russia; and here the Christians, though under a bad administration, and divided among themselves, had the superiority. The battle of Zenta, in which
 1695. prince Eugene beat the grand seignior in person, and remarkable by the deaths of the grand vizir, seventeen bashaws, and upwards of twenty thousand Turks who fell there, humbled the Ottoman pride, and brought about the peace of Carlowitz, in which the Turks submitted to the laws imposed by the conquerors. The Venetians had the Morea, the Muscovites Asoph, the Poles Kaminiek, and the emperor Transilvania. All Christendom was then happy and tranquil, the sound of war was no longer heard, either in Asia or Africa, and the whole world was at peace during the two last years of the seventeenth century, an epocha, alas! of too short a duration.

The public calamities were soon awakened again. The peace of the North was disturbed in the year 1700, by two men the most extraordinary the world ever produced: one was czar Peter Alexowitz, emperor of Russia, the other young Charles XII. king of Sweden. Czar Peter, though born a barbarian, became a great man, and by his genius and surprising labours, was the reformer, or rather founder of his empire. Charles XII. more courageous than the czar, and yet less serviceable to his subjects, formed to command soldiers but not nations, was the first hero of his age, but died with the character of an imprudent king. The desolation the North underwent during a war of eighteen years, owed its rise to the ambitious politics of the czar and the kings of Denmark and Poland, who wanted to take advantage of the youth of Charles XII. to strip him of a part of his dominions; but Charles, at the
 1700. age of sixteen, conquered all three. He was the terror of the world, and was already esteemed a hero, at an age in which other men have hardly finished their studies. He was for nine years the most formidable monarch in the world, and for nine years the most miserable.

The troubles of the South of Europe arose from another

another cause. The king of Spain lay at the point of death, and it was in dispute who should share the spoils he was to leave behind him. The powers, who already devoured in imagination this immense succession, did, on this occasion, what we see frequently practised during the illness of a rich old man, who has no children; the wife, the relations, the priests of the sick king, and even the officers appointed to receive the last commands of those who are dying, beset him on all sides to get a favourable word from him. Some of the inheritors agree to divide the spoils, and others prepare to dispute them.

Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold were in the same degree of consanguinity; they were both grandsons to Philip III. and both had married daughters of Philip IV. therefore Monseigneur the dauphin, the king's son, and Joseph king of the Romans, son to the emperor, were doubly in the same degree. The right of eldership was in the house of France, the king and Monseigneur being sons of the elder daughters: but the Imperial house reckoned as rights, first the formal renunciation of the crown of Spain, made and ratified by Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. with the name of Austria; the blood of Maximilian, from whence Leopold and Charles II. were descended; the almost perpetual union which had subsisted between the two branches of the house of Austria; the still more constant hatred of those two branches against the Bourbons; the aversion which the Spanish nation had at that time to the French; and lastly, the secret springs of policy which governed the Spanish council.

Nothing at that time seemed more natural than to perpetuate the throne of Spain in the house of Austria; all Europe expected this before the peace of Ryswick, but the weakness of Charles II. had disturbed this order of succession in the year 1696, and the Austrian house had been already sacrificed in secret. The king of Spain had a grand-nephew, son to Maximilian Mary, elector of Bavaria; the king's mother, who was still living, was great-grandmother to this young prince of Bavaria, who was then about four years old; and this princess,

princess, notwithstanding that she herself was of the house of Austria, being daughter of the emperor Ferdinand III. prevailed on her son to disinherit the Imperial family, in consequence of a pique she had entertained against the court of Vienna. She therefore cast her eyes on the prince of Bavaria, though hardly out of his cradle, and destined him to the Spanish monarchy, and that of the new world. Charles II. who was then entirely governed by her*, made a private will in the year 1696, in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria; but having afterwards lost his mother, he was governed by his wife Mariana, of Bavaria Newbourg. This Bavarian princess, who was sister-in-law to the emperor Leopold, had as great an attachment to the house of Austria, as the Austrian queen-mother had to that of Bavaria. Thus the natural course of things was all along inverted in this affair, which concerned the most extensive monarchy in the world. Mariana of Bavaria procured that will to be destroyed, by which the young prince of Bavaria was called to the succession, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would never have any other heir than a son of the emperor Leopold, and would not name the house of Austria. Matters were on this footing at the peace of Ryfwick. The king of France and Austria were equally fearful and suspicious of each other, and had likewise Europe to fear. England and Holland, two powerful states, whose interest it was to maintain the balance of power between crowned heads, would never suffer, that the same head, which wore the crown of Spain, should likewise wear that of France or the Empire†.

It is not positively known who it was, that first conceived the notion of making the premature and unheard of partition of the Spanish monarchy, during the lifetime of Charles II. Most probably it was the minister Torci, for it was he who first opened it to Bentinck earl of Portland, ambassador from William III. to Lewis XIV.

King

* See de Torcy's Memoirs, Vol. I. page 15.

† The reigning emperor is the son of this Leopold.

King William entered with great alacrity into this new project ; and, in concert with the count de Tallard at the Hague, disposed of the Spanish 1698. succession. To the young prince of Bavaria they gave Spain and the East-Indies, without knowing that Charles II. had before that bequeathed to him all his dominions. The dauphin, son of Lewis XIV. was to have Naples, Sicily, and the province of Guipuscoa, together with some few towns. The archduke Charles, second son to the emperor Leopold, had only the duchy of Milan given him, and nothing was allotted for the archduke Joseph, Leopold's eldest son, and heir to the empire.

The destiny of a part of Europe, and the half of America, thus settled, Lewis promised by this treaty of partition, to renounce the entire succession to the Spanish dominions ; the dauphin promised and signed the same thing. France thought to make an addition to its territories ; England and Holland had in view to settle the peace of a part of Europe ; but all these politics were vain. The dying king being informed in what manner they were tearing his monarchy in pieces, during his life time, was filled with indignation. It was generally expected, that, upon hearing this news, he would declare either the emperor or one of his sons his successor, as a reward for his not having intermeddled in this shameful partition ; and that he would make such a will as the house of Austria should dictate to him.

He did indeed make a will, but he, a second Nov. time, declared the prince of Bavaria sole heir 1698. to his dominions. The Spanish nation, who dreaded nothing so much as the dismembering of its monarchy, applauded the disposition the king had made, which seemed calculated to bring about a peace. This hope likewise proved as vain as the treaty of partition. The prince of Bavaria, the intended king, died at Brussels *.

The

* The author of the history of Lewis XIV. had mentioned the most of these particulars, then new and very interesting, a long time before the Memoirs of the marquis de Torcy made their appearance ;

The house of Austria was unjustly charged with the sudden death of this prince, merely from the probability that those will be guilty of crimes, to whom crimes are useful; and new intrigues began to be revived again at the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Versailles, London, the Hague, and Rome.

Lewis XIV. king William, and the states-general, disposed once more of the Spanish monarchy March, in idea, and assigned to archduke Charles, the 1700. emperor's youngest son, that part which they had before given to the infant, lately dead.

They gave Milan to the duke of Lorraine, and Lorraine, so often invaded, and so often restored again by France, was to be annexed to it for ever. This treaty, which set the politics of all the princes at work, to thwart or support it, proved as useless as the first. Europe was again deceived in its attempt, as almost always happens.

When this treaty of partition was offered to the emperor to sign, he refused, because he was in hopes of having the entire succession. The French king, who had strongly pressed the signing of it, waited in uncertainty the event.

The king of Spain, who saw himself at the point of death, in the flower of his age, was for bestowing all his dominions on the archduke Charles, his queen's nephew, and second son to the emperor Leopold: he did not dare to leave them to the eldest son, so prevalent was the system of a balance of power in all minds, and so certain was it, that the apprehension of seeing Spain, the

pearance; and these Memoirs have at length confirmed all the facts alleged in this History.

The scandalous reports which were propagated on the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, are no longer repeated by writers of any authority. In the pretended Memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, Tom. V. pag. 6. we meet with these words; "The court of Vienna, which had always been tainted with Machiavelian maxims, and was suspected of employing poisoners to retrieve the mistakes of its ministers." It would seem by this expression, that the court of Vienna had always kept poisoners in a kind of office, the same as their buffars and dragoons. We think it our duty to take notice of such indecent expressions, and contradict such calumnies.

the Indies, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, in the same hands, was about to arm all Europe. Charles II. wanted the emperor Leopold to send his second son Charles to Madrid, at the head of ten thousand men; but neither France, England, the states-general, nor Italy, would have permitted such a step to be taken at that time; every one was for the partition. The emperor would not send his son alone, to be at the mercy of the Spanish council, and he could not transport ten thousand men thither: he only wanted to march troops into Italy, to secure that part of the Austrian Spanish monarchy. There now happened in the most important of concerns between two great princes, what happens every day between private persons in the most trifling affairs: they disputed, they grew warm; the Castilian haughtiness was offended by the German pride. The countess of Perlitz, who governed the wife of the dying king, alienated the minds of those in Madrid, whom she ought to have won over, and the court of Vienna disgusted them still more by its haughtiness.

The young archduke, who was afterwards the emperor Charles VI. used never to mention the Spaniards, but with some opprobrious appellation. He then experienced how incumbent it is on princes to weigh all their words. The bishop of Lerida, who was ambassador from the court of Madrid to that of Vienna, on some occasion of dislike against the Germans, collected these expressions, and transmitted them with exaggerations to his court in his dispatches, and even treated the Austrian council more injuriously in his letters, than the archduke had done the Spaniards by his speeches. "Leopold's ministers, said he, have understandings like the horns of the goats in my country, small, hard, and crooked." This letter was made public. The bishop of Lerida was recalled, and at his return to Madrid he doubly encreased the aversion which his countrymen had to the Germans.

While the Austrian party made itself thus hated by the court of Madrid, the marquis, after marshal duke of Harcourt, the French ambassador, gained all hearts
by

by his prodigious magnificence, his dexterity, and perfect knowledge in the art of pleasing. He was the first who changed into benevolence that antipathy, which the Spanish nation had nourished against the French, ever since the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, and by his prudent conduct laid the foundation for that period, when France and Spain renewed the ancient bonds, by which they were united before the time of that Ferdinand. "Crown with crown, nation with nation, and man with man." He brought the Spanish court to have an affection for the house of France, its ministers to be no longer startled at the renunciations made by Maria Theresa and Anne of Austria, and the king himself to waver between his own house and that of Bourbon. He was therefore the *primum mobile* of the greatest change in the administration, and the minds of the people in general. But this change was as yet at a considerable distance. The emperor employed entreaties and threats. The king of France represented his rights, but without venturing to ask the entire succession for his grandson.

The council of Madrid were as yet undetermined which side to take, and Charles II. who was every day drawing nearer to his grave, was in equal uncertainty. Leopold in a pique recalled his ambassador, the count de Harrach, from Madrid, but soon afterwards he sent him back again, and then the hopes in favour of the house of Austria were revived. The king of Spain wrote to the emperor, that he would chuse the archduke for his successor. Then the French king threatened in his turn, assembled an army on the frontiers of Spain, and the marquis of Harcourt was recalled from his embassy, to command these forces, leaving only an officer of foot at the court of Madrid, who had served as secretary to the embassy, and now remained in quality of resident, as de Torci tells us. Thus the dying king, threatened alternately by those who pretended to the succession, and plainly perceiving, that the hour of his death would be that of a bloody war, and that his dominions were on the point of being torn in pieces, drew towards his end comfortless, irresolute, and involved in disquietudes.

In

In this violent crisis of affairs, cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, the count of Monterey, and others of the Spanish grandees, determined to save their country, and joined together to prevent the dismembering of the monarchy. Their hatred to the Austrian government added a double weight to reasons of state in their breasts, and did the court of France the most essential service without her knowing it. They persuaded Charles II. to prefer the grandson of Lewis XIV. to a prince at so great a distance from them, and incapable of defending them. This was not an invalidation of the solemn renunciations of the Spanish crown, made by the mother and wife of Lewis XIV. because these had been made only to prevent the elder sons of their descendents, from uniting the two kingdoms under one rule; and here it was an elder son that was chosen. It was at the same time doing justice to the rights of blood, and preserving the Spanish monarchy from a partition. The scrupulous king caused all his divines to be consulted on this head, who were all of opinion with the council; and, ill as he was, wrote a letter, with his own hand, to pope Innocent XII. proposing the same case to him. The pope, who thought the liberty of Italy depended upon the weakening of the house of Austria, wrote back to the king, "That the laws of Spain, and the good of Christendom, required of him to give the preference to the house of France." This letter of the pope's was dated July 16, 1700. He treated this case of conscience, proposed by a sovereign, as an affair of state; while the king of Spain made a case of conscience of an important affair of state.

Lewis XIV. was informed of these dispositions by cardinal de Janson, who then resided at Rome, and this was all the share that the court of Versailles had in this event. Six months had passed without there being any ambassador at the court of Madrid. This was perhaps a fault, but, perhaps also, this very fault secured the Spanish monarchy in the house of France. The king of Spain then made his third will, that was for a long time thought to be the only one, and by which

which he bequeathed all his dominions to the duke of Anjou *.

It was generally thought in Europe, that this will of Charles II. had been dictated at Versailles. The dying king consulted only the interest of his kingdom, and the wishes and even fears of his people; for the French king had ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers, in order to secure to himself a part of the inheritance, at the time the dying king determined to leave him the whole. Nothing is more true than that the reputation of Lewis XIV. and the notion of his power, were the only negotiations that completed this great revolution.

Charles of Austria, after having signed the ruin of his house, and the aggrandizement of that of France, languished about a month longer, when he ended, at the age of thirty-nine, the obscure life he had led while on the throne. It may perhaps not be altogether useless towards giving an insight into the human mind, to mention, that this monarch, a few months before his death, caused the tombs of his mother, and his first wife, Maria Louisa of Orleans, to the poisoning of whom he was suspected to have been privy†, to be opened, and kissed the remains of their dead bodies. In this he either followed the example of some of the ancient kings of Spain, or was willing to accustom himself to the horrors of death, or from a secret superstition, thought that opening these tombs would retard the hour in which he was to be carried to his own.

This prince was from his birth as weak in mind as body; and this weakness had spread itself through his dominions. It is the fate of monarchies to have their prosperity

* Some memoirs tell us, that cardinal Portocarrero prevailed on the king to sign this will when he was dying, and give us a long speech, which the prelate made to this monarch, to engage him to comply with his request. But it is easily perceived, that every thing had been prepared and disposed for this in the month of July preceding. Besides, who could know what cardinal Portocarrero said to the king when they were in private together?

† See the Chapter of anecdotes.

prosperity depend upon the disposition of a single man. Charles II. had been brought up in such profound ignorance, that when the French were besieging Mons, he thought that place had belonged to the king of England. He neither knew whereabouts Flanders lay, nor what place belonged to him there *. This king left the duke of Anjou all his dominions, without knowing what he had given him.

His will was kept so secret, that the count de Harrach, the emperor's ambassador, still flattered himself, that the archduke would be acknowledged his successor. He waited a long time for the issue of the great council, which was held immediately upon the king's death; at length, seeing the duke of Abrantes coming towards him with open arms, he made sure in that instant that the archduke was king, when the duke embracing him, accosted him thus: *Vengo ad expedir me de la casa de Austria.* "I am come to take my leave of the house of Austria."

Thus, after two hundred years of war and negotiations, for some few frontier towns of the Spanish dominions, the house of France, by the single stroke of a pen, was put in possession of the whole monarchy, without treaties, without intrigues, and even without having entertained hopes of the succession. We thought ourselves obliged to bring to light the simple truth of a fact, which has till now been obscured by so many statesmen and historians, led away by their own prejudices, and by appearances, that are almost always fallacious. What we find related in a number of books, concerning the sums of money distributed by the marshal d'Harcourt, and the bribing of the Spanish ministers to get this will signed, may be ranked in the number of political lies and popular errors. But the king of Spain, in chusing for his successor the grandson of a king, who had so long been his enemy, had always in view, the consequences that naturally follow, from a notion of a general equilibrium of power. The duke of Anjou, Lewis XIV's grandson, was called to the

VOL. VI. D Spanish

* See de Torci's Memoirs, Tom. I. page 12.

Spanish succession, only because he could never pretend to the crown of France; and in this very will, by which, in default of younger children of the blood of Lewis XIV. the archduke Charles, (afterwards the emperor Charles VI.) is called to the succession, it is expressly declared, that the Empire and Spain shall never be united under one sovereign.

Lewis XIV. might still have abided by the treaty of partition, which was profitable for France, or he might have accepted the will, which was to the advantage of his family. This matter was actually in debate in an extraordinary council. The chancellor, Pontchartrain, and the duke of Beauvilliers, were of opinion to abide by the treaty, as foreseeing the danger of having a new war to support. Lewis saw nothing like this; but he was accustomed not to fear war. He therefore accepted the will, and as he was coming out of the council, meeting the princess of Conti, with madame the duchess; "Well, said he to them, smiling, on which side are you?" and then without giving them time to reply, "Whichsoever side I take, added he, I am sure to be blamed *."

The actions of kings, though often extravagantly flattered, are likewise liable to the severest strictures, insomuch that the king of England himself underwent the reproaches of his parliament, and his ministers were prosecuted

* Notwithstanding the just contempt, in which the pretended Memoirs of madame de Maintenon are held throughout France, we think it necessary to acquaint strangers, that every thing there said, relating to this will, is entirely false. The author pretends, that when the Spanish ambassador presented the will of Charles II. to Lewis, that prince replied, "We shall consider of it." Certainly the king never made so extraordinary a reply, since by the marquis de Torci's confession, the Spanish ambassador had nor his audience of Lewis XIV. till after the holding of the council in which the will was accepted.

The minister, who then resided in Spain from the French court, was named Blécour, and not Belcour; and the Spanish ambassador's name was Castel dos Rios, and not Rios. The answer made by the king to this ambassador, never had existence but in this idle romance.

prosecuted for having been concerned in the treaty of partition. The English, who reason better than any other nation, but who frequently suffer the rage of party spirit to extinguish that reason, exclaimed unanimously both against William, who had made this treaty, and against Lewis, who had broke it.

Europe at first seemed lost in surprise, and unable to bestir itself when it saw the Spanish monarchy become subject to France, whose rival it had been for above three hundred years. Lewis XIV. seemed the most fortunate and powerful monarch in the world. He saw himself, at the age of sixty-two, surrounded with a numerous posterity, and one of his grandsons going to rule, under his orders, the kingdom of Spain, America, one half of Italy, and the Low Countries. The emperor as yet could do nothing but complain.

King William, now fifty-two years of age, infirm and feeble, no longer appeared the formidable enemy he had been. He could not make war without the consent of his parliament; and Lewis had taken care to send sums of money over to England, with a view to purchase several votes in that assembly. William, and the Dutch, not being strong enough to declare themselves, wrote to Philip V. as to the lawful king of Spain. Lewis XIV. was sure of the elector of Bavaria, father to the young prince, lately deceased, who had been appointed king. This elector, who governed the Netherlands in the name of the deceased king, Charles II. immediately secured the possession of Flanders to Philip V. and left a passage open for the French army through his electorate to the capital of Germany, in case the emperor should venture to declare war. The elector of Cologne, brother to the elector of Bavaria, was as intimately connected with France as his brother, and these two princes seemed to act with reason on their side. The party of the house of Bourbon was at that time without comparison the strongest. The duke of Savoy, already father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, was going to be the same to the king of Spain, and was to have the command of the French forces in Italy. It was hardly imagined then, that the father of the

duchess of Burgundy and the queen of Spain, would ever make war upon his two sons-in-law.

The duke of Mantua, who had been sold to France by his minister, now sold himself, and received a French garrison into Mantua. The duchy of Milan acknowledged Lewis's grandson without hesitation; and even Portugal, who was naturally the enemy of Spain, immediately joined with it. In a word, from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Naples, all seemed to be at the devotion of the Bourbons. The king was so elated with his prosperity, that talking with the duke of Rochefoucault one day, on the subject of the proposals, which the emperor made him at that time, he expressed himself thus: "You will find them still more insolent than you have been told *."

King William, who to the hour of his death continued an enemy to Lewis XIV. promised the emperor to arm England and Holland in his cause: he likewise engaged the court of Denmark in his interest: at length he signed at the Hague that league, which had been already set on foot against the house of Sept. France. The king however was not much 1701. surprised at this, and depending upon the divisions he hoped to cause in the English parliament, by the money he had sent over, and still more on the united forces of France and Spain, seemed to despise his enemies.

At this time king James died at St. Germain. Lewis might, on this occasion, have paid what appeared due to decency and good politics, in not too hastily acknowledging the prince of Wales for king of England, after having already acknowledged William's title by the peace of Ryswick. He was at first determined, from an emotion of pure generosity, to give the son of king James the consolation of a title and dignity, which his unfortunate father had bore till the hour of his death, and which the treaty of Ryswick did not take from

* At least this is what we find related by Mr. Dangeau, in his manuscript memoirs, though they are not always strictly true.

from him. The principal ministers of the council, however, were all of a different opinion. The duke of Beauvilliers especially, set forth, in the most eloquent manner, the many scourges of war, which were likely to be the consequence of so dangerous a magnanimity. This nobleman was governor to the duke of Burgundy, and in every thing thought like that prince's preceptor, the famous archbishop of Cambrai, so well known by his humane maxims of government, and the preference he gave to the interests of the people, over the grandeur of the monarch. The marquis de Torci enforced, as a politician, what the duke de Beauvilliers had advanced as a citizen. He represented how impolitic it was, to incense the English nation by so rash a step. Lewis yielded to the opinion of his council, and resolved not to acknowledge the son of James II. as king. The same day Mary of Modena, widow to the deceased James, went to madame de Maintenon's apartment, to speak with Lewis XIV. She found him there, and with a flood of tears, conjured him not to treat her son, herself, and the memory of a king, he had protected, with so much indignity, as to refuse a title, the only remains of all their former greatness. She observed, that as her son had always received the honours of a prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as king after the death of his father; and that even William himself could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy his usurpation. To these arguments she added others, which concerned the interest and glory of Lewis XIV. She represented to him that, whether he acknowledged the son of James II. or not, the English would nevertheless declare against France; and that he would only feel the vexation of having sacrificed the most noble sentiments to a fruitless precaution. These representations and tears were powerfully seconded by madame de Maintenon. The king resumed his former sentiments, and the noble resolution of protecting distressed kings to the utmost of his power. In a word, James III. was acknowledged the same day that it had been determined in council not to acknowledge him.

The marquis de Torci has frequently owned this remarkable anecdote; he has not indeed inserted it in his Memoirs, because (as he himself observes) he thought it was not to the honour of his master, to be prevailed upon by two women, to alter a resolution which had been taken in his council. Some English gentlemen * have told me, that had it not been for this step, their parliament might not, in all probability, have taken part against the house of Bourbon; but that this acknowledging, as their king, a person whom they had banished, appeared an insult offered to the nation, and an attempt towards exercising an absolute authority over Europe. The spirit of freedom, which then prevailed among the English, and that was not a little increased by the hatred they bore to Lewis, on account of his great power, made the nation contribute with cheerfulness to all the supplies which William demanded.

It appears more probable, that the English would have declared war against Lewis XIV. even though he had refused the empty title of king to the son of James II. His grandson, being in possession of the Spanish monarchy, seemed alone sufficient to arm all the maritime powers against him. A few members of the house of commons, bribed to favour his cause, could never have opposed the torrent of the nation. It remains to be decided, whether madame de Maintenon judged better than the French council, and whether Lewis XIV. was in the right to indulge the pride and sensibility of his soul?

The

* Among others, my lord Bolingbroke, who in his Memoirs has since justified all that the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. advances. See his Letters, Vol. II. page 56. Mr. de Torci is of the same opinion in his Memoirs: he says, Vol. I. page 164, "The king's resolution to acknowledge the prince of Wales for king of England, wrought a change in the dispositions, which a great part of the nation shewed towards preserving the peace, &c." Lord Bolingbroke says, in his Letters, that Lewis XIV. acknowledged the pretender "through female importunities." These are sufficient proofs, how industriously the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. has sought after the truth, and with what candour he has related it.

The emperor Leopold first began this war in Italy, in the spring of the year 1701. Italy has always been the favourite object in all the concerns of the emperors. He knew his arms could more easily penetrate here, through the Tirolese and the Venetian state; for Venice, though neuter in appearance, still inclined more to the house of Austria than to that of France, and being moreover obliged, by treaties, to allow a passage to the German troops, she found no great difficulty to accomplish these treaties.

The emperor, before he ventured to attack Lewis XIV. on the side of Germany, waited till the Germanic body began to stir in his favour. He had good intelligence in the Spanish court, and even a party there; but neither of these could prove of service without the presence of one of his sons, and he could not be transported thither, but with the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets. King William hastened the necessary preparations; his soul more active than ever, in a feeble and almost lifeless body, set every thing in motion; not so much with a view to serve the house of Austria as to humble Lewis XIV.

He was to have headed the armies himself, at the beginning of the year 1702; but death prevented his design. A fall from his horse completed the disorder of his enfeebled organs, and a slight March fever carried him off. He died without 16, 1702. making any reply to what the English clergymen, * who attended at his bed-side, said to him in relation to their religion, and shewed no concern but for the affairs of Europe.

He left behind him the character of a great politician, though he was never popular, and a formidable

D 4

general,

* Our author is in this place mistaken. Instead of shewing any solicitude about the affairs of Europe, he paid little or no attention to the Earl of Albemarle, just arrived from Holland, when he explained to him in private the posture of affairs upon the continent: all the answer he made was, *Je tire vers ma fin*, "My life draws near a close." He conferred on spiritual matters with archbishop Tennyson and bishop Burnet, and received the sacrament with great devotion.

general, though he had lost so many battles; always circumspect in his conduct, and spirited only in the day of battle: he reigned peaceable in England, merely because he did not attempt to be absolute; he was called the English stadtholder and the Dutch king; he understood all the European languages, but spoke none of them well, as he had a much greater share of reflection than imagination; he affected to hate flatterers and flattery, perhaps because Lewis XIV. seemed to take rather too much pleasure in them. His reputation was of a different kind from that of the French monarch; those who admired most the advantage of having acquired a kingdom without any natural right, and of maintaining the rule over a people without being beloved by them; of having governed Holland with all the authority of a sovereign, without enslaving it; of having been the soul and head of one half of Europe, without possessing the talents of a general, or the courage of a soldier; of never having persecuted any one on the score of religion; of having a contempt for the superstitious prejudices of mankind; of having been simple and moderate in his manners; such I say will doubtless give the title of great to William, rather than to Lewis; while those, who are more delighted with the pleasures of a brilliant court, with magnificence, with the protection given to the arts, with a zeal for the public good*, a thirst for glory, and a talent for reigning, who are more struck with the lofty manner, in which ministers and generals added whole provinces to France, only on an order from their king; who are more astonished to see a single state make head against

* In what shape Lewis XIV. could be said to be zealous for the public good, we cannot conceive; he whose criminal ambition impoverished his kingdom, and reduced his subjects to misery. As to his talent for reigning, we shall only observe; that, after Richelieu had reduced the power of the nobles, and Colbert had enriched the kingdom with commerce, as well as established the plan of internal government, it was a very easy matter to maintain authority and order in a nation of slaves, overawed by a standing army of above four hundred thousand ruffians, inured to blood and rapine.

against so many powers ; who have greater esteem for a king of France that procures the kingdom of Spain for his grandson, than for a son-in-law who dethrones his wife's father ; in a word, those who admire more the protector than the prosecutor of king James, such will give Lewis the preference.

To William III. succeeded the princess Anne, daughter to king James by the daughter of Lawyer Hyde, afterwards chancellor and one of the principal men of the kingdom. She was married to the prince of Denmark, who ranked only as the first subject in the kingdom. As soon as she came to the crown, she adopted all the measures of her predecessor king William, though she had been at open variance with him during his life. These measures were those of the nation. In other kingdoms, a prince obliges his people to enter blindly into all his views ; but at London a king must enter into those of his people*.

The dispositions made by England and Holland for placing, if possible, the archduke Charles, son to the emperor Leopold, on the throne of Spain or at least to oppose the establishment of the Bourbon family, were such as perhaps may be said to merit the attention of all ages.

The Dutch, on their sides, were to maintain an army of one hundred and two thousand men in pay, either in garrison or in the field. This was much more than the vast Spanish monarchy could furnish at that time : a province of merchants, who, thirty years before, had been always totally subdued in the space of two months, could now do more than the masters of Spain, Naples, Flanders, Peru, and Mexico. England promised to furnish forty thousand men. It happens, in most alliances, that, in the long run, the parties concerned fall short of their promised quotas ; but England, on the contrary, furnished fifty thousand men the second year instead of forty, which she had promised ; and, in the latter part of the war, she had in

D 5

pay,

* Witness this and the last war upon the Continent.

pay, on the frontiers of France, in Spain, Italy, Ireland, America, and on board her fleet, upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, soldiers and sailors, partly her own troops, partly those of her allies; an expence which appears almost incredible to those who reflect, that England, properly so called, is not a third so large as France, and has not one half the quantity of coin; but will appear probable in the eyes of those who know what trade and credit can do. The English always bore the greatest share of the burthen in this alliance, while the Dutch insensibly lessened theirs; for after all, the republic of the states-general is only an illustrious trading company, whereas Eng'land is a fruitful country, abounding in merchants and soldiers.

The emperor was to furnish eighty thousand men, exclusive of the succours of the empire, and those allies, whom he hoped to detach from the house of Bourbon; and yet the grandson of Lewis XIV. was already seated peaceably on his throne at Madrid, and Lewis, at the beginning of the century, was at the zenith of his power and glory: but those, who penetrated into the resources of the several courts of Europe, and especially that of France, began to fear some reverse. Spain, that had been weakened under the last kings of the race of Charles V. was still more feeble during the early part of the reign of the Bourbons. The house of Austria had partisans in several provinces of this monarchy; Catalonia seemed ready to shake off the new yoke, and acknowledge the archduke Charles. It was impossible but that Portugal must, sooner or later, side with the house of Austria. It was plainly its interest to encourage a civil war among the Spaniards, its natural enemies, that might turn to the advantage of Lisbon. The duke of Savoy, lately become father in law to the new king of Spain, and linked to the Bourbons by the ties of blood as well as treaties, seemed already displeased with his son-in-law. Fifty thousand crowns per month, afterwards raised to two hundred thousand franks, did not appear a sufficiently valuable consideration to bind him to their interest; he
wanted

wanted at least Montferrat, Mantua, and a part of the duchy of Milan. The haughty behaviour he met with from the French generals, and from the ministry at Versailles, made him apprehensive, and not without reason, that he should soon be held for nothing by his two sons-in-law, who kept his dominions surrounded on every side. He had already quitted the emperor for France, without any ceremony; and it seemed more than probable, that, finding himself so little regarded by the latter, he would change sides the first opportunity.

As to the court of Lewis XIV. and his kingdom, nice spirits already perceived a change in them, which is only visible to the grosser ones, when the decline is far advanced. The king, now upwards of sixty years of age, was grown more retired, and consequently knew less of mankind; he saw things at too great a distance, and with eyes less discerning, and dazzled with prosperity. Madame de Maintenon, with all the amiable qualities she was mistress of, had neither the strength, greatness, nor courage of mind, requisite for supporting the glory of a state: she was instrumental in procuring the management of the finances in 1698, and the department of war in 1701, for her creature Chamillard, who was more of the honest man than the minister, and had ingratiated himself with the king by his discreet conduct, when employed at St. Cyr; but, notwithstanding an outward appearance of modesty, he had the misfortune to think himself capable of bearing two burthens, which Colbert and Louvois had with difficulty supported separately. The king, depending upon his own experience, thought that he could successfully direct his ministers; and when Louvois died, he said to king James, "I have lost a good minister, but neither your affairs nor mine shall go the worse for it." When he made choice of Barbesieux to succeed Louvois, as secretary of war, he said to him, "I formed your father, and will form you." He expressed himself much in the same manner to Chamillard. A king, who had been so long engaged in public

lic affairs, and with such great success, seemed to have a right to talk in this manner.

In regard to the generals whom he employed, they were frequently confined by the strict orders they received from him, like ambassadors, who must not depart from their instructions. He and Chamillard directed the operations of the campaign in Madame de Maintenon's closet. If a general was desirous of executing any great undertaking, he was frequently obliged to dispatch a courier to court for permission, who at his return found the opportunity lost, or the general beaten.

Military rewards and dignities were profusely lavished under Chamillard's administration; numbers of young persons, hardly out of their leading-strings, were allowed to purchase regiments, which, with the enemy, was the reward of twenty years service. This difference was very sensibly felt on many occasions, in which an experienced officer might have prevented a total rout. The crosses of the knights of St. Lewis, a reward invented by the king in 1693, and then the object of emulation among the officers, were exposed to sale in the beginning of Chamillard's ministry, and were to be bought for fifty crowns a piece, at any of the war-offices. Military discipline, the soul of service, which had been so strictly kept up by Louvois, had degenerated into a fatal remissness; the companies were not complete in their number of men, nor the regiments in their officers. Hence arose a defect, which, supposing an equality in other respects, must infallibly occasion the loss of all their battles; for, to have an equal extent of front with that of the enemy, they were obliged to oppose weak battalions to strong and numerous ones. The magazines were no longer so well provided, nor at such convenient distances, nor were the arms so well tempered as formerly. Those, therefore, who perceived these defects in the administration, and knew what generals France had to deal with, trembled for her, even in the midst of those first advantages

advantages, which seemed to promise her greater success than ever * †.

C H A P. CLXXXI.

The War of 1701. Conduct of Prince EUGENE, Marshal VILLEROI, the Duke of VENDOME, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and MARSHAL VILLARS; till the Year 1703.

THE first general, who put a check to the superiority of the French arms, was a Frenchman, for so we should call prince Eugene, though he was the grandson of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy: his father, the count de Soissons, had settled in France, where he was lieutenant-general of the king's armies, and governor of Champagne; and married Olimpia Mancini, one of the nieces of cardinal Mazarine.

From this match, so unfortunate in other respects, was born at Paris this prince, who afterwards proved so dangerous an adversary to Lewis XIV. and was so little known to him in his youth. He was known at first in France by the name of

* The compiler of the memoirs of madame de Maintenon says, that, towards the end of the foregoing war, the marquis de Nangis, colonel of the king's regiment, told him, that he had no way to stop the desertion of his soldiers, but by knocking the deserters on the head. It is worth while to remark, that this marquis de Nangis, afterwards a marshal, was not colonel of the king's regiment till the year 1711.

The same author abuses the regiment of guards, whom he calls Pierrots: he seems not to know how they distinguished themselves at Valcour, Steinkirk, Nerveinde, and at almost every siege. History should not be a satire against any body of men, or private persons.

† All these circumstances imply, that the former prosperity of Lewis was not owing to his own personal talents, but entirely to the great abilities of his old ministers and generals, who were now no more.

of the Chevalier de Carignan; he afterwards took the petit collet, and was called the Abbot of Savoy. It is said, that he asked the king for a regiment, which his majesty refused him, on account of his being too much connected with the princes of Conti, who were then in disgrace. Not being able to succeed with Lewis XIV. he went to serve the emperor against the Turks in Hungary, in 1684, together with the princes of Conti, who had already made a glorious campaign there. The king sent an order to the princes of Conti, and all those, who had accompanied them in the expedition, to return home. The abbot of Savoy was the only one who refused to comply with this mandate; he continued his journey, openly declaring, that he renounced France for ever. The king, when he was told of this, said to his courtiers *, "Don't you think I have had a great loss?" And these gentlemen immediately gave it as their opinion, that the abbot of Savoy would always be a mad-headed fellow, and fit for nothing. They founded their judgments on certain sallies of youth, by which we are never to judge of men. This prince, who was held in so much contempt at the court of France, was born with all the qualifications which form the hero in war, and the great man in peace; he had a just and lofty mind, and the necessary courage both in the field and the cabinet; he was guilty of faults as all generals have

* See Dangeau's memoirs.

There were at that time several young lords of the court, who wrote indecent letters to the princes of Conti, in which they were wanting in the respect they owed the king, and in complaisance to Madame de Maintenon, who was then only a favourite. These letters were intercepted, and the young people in disgrace for some time.

The compiler of the memoirs of Maintenon, is the only one who asserts, that the duke de la Rochaugien said to his brother, the marquis de Liencourt, "Brother, you deserve death, if your letters are intercepted." In the first place, no one deserves death for having a faulty letter intercepted, but for having wrote it; and in the next place, no one deserves death for writing a jest. It is evident that these young lords did not deserve death, because they were all taken into favour again; all these supposititious speeches, which are so lightly repeated in the world, and afterwards collected and published by obscure and mercenary writers, are undeserving of our belief,

have been, but these were lost in the number of his great actions. He shook the greatness of Lewis XIV. and the Ottoman power: he governed the empire; and, in the course of his victories and ministry, shewed an equal contempt for vain-glory and riches. He cherished, and even protected learning, as much as could be done at the court of Vienna. At this time he was about thirty-seven years of age, and had the experience of his own victories over the Turks, and the faults, which he had seen committed by the Imperialists in the late wars, in which he served against France. He entered Italy by the country of Trent, in the territories of Venice, with thirty thousand men, and full liberty to make such use of them as he pleased. The court at first forbid marshal Catinat to oppose the passage of prince Eugene, either because they would not commit the first act of hostility, which was bad policy, when the enemy had already taken up arms, or else because they would not disoblige the Venetians, who were however less to be feared than the German army. This first mistake in the court occasioned marshal Catinat to commit others. That person rarely succeeds, who follows a plan that is not his own; besides, we well know how difficult a matter it is, in a country, cut through with rivers and streams of water, to prevent a skilful enemy from passing them. Prince Eugene, to a great depth of scheming, added a lively promptitude of execution. From the nature of the ground likewise, on the banks of the Adigi, the enemy's army was more compact, while that of the French was more extended. Catinat was for marching to meet the enemy; but the lieutenants-general started difficulties, and formed cabals against him. Instead of making them obey him, he gave way; the mildness of his disposition led him to commit this great error. Eugene began by forcing the post of Carpi, near the White Canal, which was defended by St. Fremont, July 9, 1701. who neglected the general's orders in some respects, and occasioned his own defeat. After this success, the German army had the command of all the country, between the Adigi and the Adda, and penetrated,

trated into the Bressan, while Catinat retreated behind the Oglio. Several good officers approved of this retreat, which, in their opinion, was a very prudent one; to which we may further add, that the failure of the provisions and ammunition, promised by the ministry, rendered it absolutely necessary. The courtiers, and especially those, who had hopes of succeeding Catinat in the command, represented his behaviour as a scandal to the French name. Marshal Villeroi persuaded them, that he could retrieve the honour of the nation; the confidence with which he spoke, and the liking the king had to him, procured him the command in Italy; and marshal Catinat, notwithstanding his former victories of Staffarde and Marfaillies, was obliged to serve under him.

The marshal duke de Villeroi was son to the king's governor, had been brought up with his royal master, and always enjoyed a principal share of his favour: he had been with him in all his campaigns, and made one in all his parties of pleasure; he was of an agreeable and engaging figure, extremely brave, a very worthy man, a good friend, sincere in his connections, and magnificent in all his actions*. But his enemies said he was more taken up, after he came to be general, with the honour and pleasure of commanding, than with the schemes of a great captain, and reproached him

* The author, who in his younger days had frequently the honour of seeing this nobleman, thinks himself authorised to declare, that the above is his real character. La Baunette, who abuses both marshal Villeroi and marshal Villars, and many others, in his notes on the age of Lewis XIV. speaks thus of the late marshal duke of Villeroi, page 102, Vol. III. of the memoirs of Madame de Maintenon, "Villeroi, the vain-glorious, who used to amuse the women with so easy an air, and would ask his servants with so much arrogance, "Is there any money put into my pockets?" How can any person put into the mouth; I will not say of a great nobleman, but even of any well-bred man, words which were said to have been spoken by a financier? How can he pretend to talk of so many great men of the past age, as if he had seen them all? Or, how can any one have the assurance to commit to writing such false and scurrilous reflections?

him with being so much wedded to his own opinion, as to slight the advice of every one else.

He now repaired to Italy, to lord it over Catinat, and disgust the duke of Savoy. His behaviour shewed, that he thought a favourite of Lewis XIV. at the head of so powerful an army, was infinitely superior to a prince. He never called the duke by any other name than *Monf. de Savoy*, and treated him like a common general in the pay of France, and not like a sovereign. In a word, the friendship of this prince was not regarded so much as was necessary, considering that he was master of the barriers, which nature has placed between France and Italy. The court thought, that fear was the surest knot to bind him; and that a French army, surrounding about six or seven thousand Piedmontese, was a sufficient pledge for his fidelity. Marshal Villeroi behaved to him as his equal in common correspondence, and his superior in the command. The duke of Savoy had the empty title of *generalissimo*, but marshal Villeroi was so in fact. He immediately gave orders for attacking prince Eugene in the post of Chiari, near the Oglio. The general officers were of opinion, that it was against all the rules of war to attack this post, for these essential reasons; that it was of no consequence; that the intrenchments were inaccessible; that nothing could be gained by forcing them, and that, if they failed, the reputation of the whole campaign would be lost. Villeroi, however, told the duke of Savoy that he must march, and sent an *aid-de-camp* to order marshal Catinat, in his name, to begin the attack. Catinat made the messenger repeat the order to him three different times; then turning towards the officers, who were under his command, "Come on then, gentlemen, we must obey." They marched directly up to the entrenchments, and the duke of Savoy Sept. 11, fought like a person, who had no subject of 1701. complaint against France. Catinat fought every where for death; he was wounded, but nevertheless, on seeing the king's troops repulsed, he made a retreat; after which he quitted the army, and returned to Versailles, to give an account of his conduct

conduct to the king, without complaining of any one.

Prince Eugene always maintained his superiority over marshal Villeroi; at length, in the heart of the winter 1702, one day that the marshal was sleeping in full security in Cremona, a pretty strong town, and Feb. 2, provided with a very numerous garrison, he 1702. found himself awakened with the noise of a discharge of small arms; upon which he rose in haste, mounted his horse, and the first thing he met with was a squadron of the enemy. The marshal is immediately made prisoner and led out of the town, without knowing any thing that had passed there, and unable to conceive the cause of so extraordinary an event. Prince Eugene was already in the town of Cremona; a priest, called Bozzoli, provost of St. Mary la Nova, had introduced the German troops through a common sewer. Four hundred men having been conveyed through this sewer into the priest's house, immediately killed the guard at the two gates, which were flung open, and prince Eugene enters the city with four thousand men. All this was done before the governor, who was a Spaniard, had the least suspicion, or marshal Villeroi was awake. The whole affair was conducted with the greatest secrecy, order, and diligence. The Spanish governor, on the first alarm, appeared in the street with a few soldiers, but was presently shot dead with a musket; all the general officers were either killed or made prisoners, excepting lieutenant-general count de Revel, and the marquis du Prâlin. Chance, however, confounded the prudent measures of prince Eugene.

It happened that the chevalier d'Entragues was that day to review the regiment of marines, of which he was colonel; the soldiers were assembled by four o'clock in the morning, in one of the outparts of the city, exactly at the time that prince Eugene entered at the other part: d'Entragues began to run through the streets with his soldiers; he makes head against those of the enemy that come in his way, and by this means gives the rest of the garrison time to repair thither.

The

The streets and squares were now filled with officers and soldiers, confusedly mingled together, some with arms, some without, and others half naked, without any commander at their head. The fight is begun in the utmost confusion, and they entrench themselves from street to street, and from square to square. Two Irish regiments, that made part of the garrison, checked the efforts of the Imperialists. Never was a greater prudence shewn in the surprize of a town, nor more valour in defending it. The garrison consisted of about five thousand men; prince Eugene had as yet introduced only four thousand; a large detachment of his army was to have joined them by the bridge over the Po; the measures were well concerted, but another stroke of chance rendered them all fruitless. This bridge, which was guarded only by an hundred French soldiers, was to have been seized upon by the German cuirassiers, who were ordered to go and make themselves masters of it, the instant prince Eugene entered the town. For this purpose, as they came in by the south gate, next to the common sewer, they were to go out into the country of Cremona at the north part of the city, through the Po-gate, and then immediately make the best of their way to the bridge. As they were going through the city, the guide, who conducted them, was killed by a musket-shot from a window; the cuirassiers mistake one street for another, and wander out of their way. During this small interval of time, the Irish assemble at the Po-gate, attack and repulse the cuirassiers; and the marquis du Prâlin, seizing this lucky moment, orders the bridge to be broken down; the succours which the enemy expected cannot arrive, and the town is saved.

Prince Eugene, after having fought the whole day, and constantly keeping possession of the gate by which he entered, at length retired, taking with him marshal Villeroi, and most of the general officers prisoners, but disappointed of taking Cremona, which his activity and prudence, together with the negligence of the generals, had once made him master of; and which chance, and the

the valour of the French and Irish troops, had snatched from him again.

Marshall Villeroi, who was extremely unhappy on this occasion, was condemned by the courtiers at Versailles, with all the severity and acrimony that his share of the royal favour, and the loathsomeness of his character, which was taken by them for vanity, could inspire. The king, who blamed, but did not condemn him, was not a little displeased to find his choice so highly censured, and in the heat of his resentment suffered these words to escape him, "They take a pleasure in abusing him, because he is my favourite:" (see Dangeau's memoirs) a term that he never before in his life made use of in regard to any one. The duke of Vendôme was immediately appointed to go and take the command in Italy.

The duke of Vendôme was grandson to Henry IV. and, like him, intrepid, mild, beneficent, and humble; a stranger to hatred, envy, and revenge: he shewed pride only among princes, and behaved with equality to every one else: he was the only general, under whom the common men were not led to fight merely from principles of military duty, and that mechanical instinct, which obeys the orders of an officer. They fought for the duke of Vendôme; and would have laid down their lives to extricate him out of a false step, into which his fiery genius sometimes hurried him. He was thought not to equal prince Eugene in the coolness and depth of his designs, and the art of subsisting his troops; he was too apt to neglect little matters, and suffered military discipline to languish in his army; he gave too much time to sleep and the pleasures of the table, as well as his brother. This over-indulgence put him more than once in danger of being carried off: but in the day of battle he made amends for all these faults, by a presence of mind and discernment, which seemed to grow from danger; these opportunities he was continually seeking, being not so well qualified for a defensive war as prince Eugene, but fully equal to him in the offensive.

The

The same disorder and negligence, that he introduced into the army, were visible to a surprising degree in his household, and even in his own person. From his great aversion to shew or ostentation, he contracted a cynic slovenliness almost unparalelled; and disinterestedness, the most noble of all virtues, became in him a fault, by making him lose more by carelessness, than he would have expended in acts of bounty. He has been often known to want even common necessaries. His brother, the grand prior, who commanded under him in Italy, had all his faults, which he carried to a still greater excess, and made amends for by the same valour. It is surprising to see two generals never rising from bed till four o'clock in the afternoon, and two princes, grandsons to Henry IV. neglecting their persons in a manner, that the meanest soldier would have thought shameful.

What is still more surprising, is, that mixture of activity and indolence, with which Vendôme carried on so smart a war against Eugene; a war of artifice, surprises, marches, crossing of rivers, petty skirmishes, often as fruitless as bloody; and murderous battles, in which both sides claimed the victory; such as that of Luzara, for which *Te Deum* was sung both at Paris and Vienna. Vendôme always came off Aug. 15, conqueror, when he had not to deal with 1701. prince Eugene in person; but as soon as that general appeared at the head of his troops, the French had no longer the advantage.

In the midst of these battles, and the sieges of so many towns and cities, private intelligence was brought to Versailles, that the duke of Savoy, June 5, grandson to a sister of Lewis XIV. father-in- 1703. law to the duke of Burgundy, and Philip V. was going to quit the Bourbon interest, and was actually in treaty with the emperor. Every one was astonished that he should, at once leave two sons-in-law, and give up what appeared to be his true interest: but the emperor had promised him all that his sons-in-law had refused him, Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Tanero, with more

more money than he received from France. The money was to be furnished by England, for the emperor had hardly sufficient to pay his troops. England, the richest of all the allies, contributed more than any of them towards the common cause. Whether the duke of Savoy shewed any regard to the laws of nature and nations, is a question in morality, which has very little to do with the conduct of sovereigns *. The event, however, proved in the end, that he was not at all wanting to the laws of policy in the treaty he made; but he was wanting in another very essential point of politics, in leaving his troops at the mercy of the French, while he was treating with the emperor. The duke of Vendôme ordered them Aug. 10, 1703. to be disarmed; they were, indeed, no more than five thousand men, but this was no inconsiderable object to the duke of Savoy.

No sooner had the house of Bourbon lost this ally, when she heard that Portugal had likewise declared against her. Peter, king of Portugal, acknowledged the archduke Charles for king of Spain. The imperial council, in the name of this archduke, dismembered, in favour of Peter II. a monarchy, in which he was not as yet master of a single town; and, by one of those treaties, which are never executed, ceded to him Vigo, Bayonne, Alcantara, Badajox, a part of Estramadura, all the countries lying to the west of the river la Plata in America; in a word, he made a partition of what he had not to give, in order to acquire what he might.

The king of Portugal, the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, minister to the archduke, and the admiral of Castile, his creature, implored the assistance of the king of Morocco. They not only entered into a treaty with these barbarians, supplying them with horses and
corn,

* The law of nations will justify any prince in renouncing an alliance, when he finds himself ill-treated by his ally. Our author owns that the duke of Savoy was treated with insolence by the generals of France; and that the advantage of his kingdom was better consulted in his engagements with the emperor.

corn, but they likewise asked for a body of troops. The emperor of Morocco, Muley Ismael, the most warlike and politic tyrant at that time in the Mahometan nation, would not send his troops but on such terms as were dangerous to Christendom, and shameful to the king of Portugal; he demanded a son of that king as an hostage, together with a certain number of towns. The treaty did not take place; and the Christians contented themselves with tearing each other to pieces with their own hands, without calling in those of barbarians: The assistance of Africa would not have done the house of Austria so much service, as that of England and Holland did.

Churchil, earl, and afterwards duke of Marlborough, was declared general of the confederate armies of England and Holland, in the year 1702. This man proved as fatal to the French greatness, as any that had appeared for many ages. He was not one of those generals, to whom a minister delivers the plan of the campaign in writing; and who, after having followed the order he has received from the cabinet, at the head of his army, returns home to solicit the honour of being employed again. He at that time governed the queen of England; both by the occasion she had for his service, and by the authority his wife had over her affections. He had the command of the parliament by his powerful interest, and by that of the treasurer Godolphin, whose son married one of his daughters. Thus having the direction of the court, the parliament, the war, and the treasury, more a king than ever William had been, as great a politician, and a much greater general, he exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the allies. He possessed, in a superior degree to any general of his time, that tranquil courage in the midst of tumult, and serenity of soul in danger, which the English call a cool head. It is perhaps to this qualification, the principal gift in nature for a commander, that the English are indebted for their victories over the French, in the fields of Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt.

Marlborough,

Marlborough, who was indefatigable as a warrior during the campaign, was no less active a negotiator in the winter: he went to the Hague, and visited all the courts of Germany; he persuaded the Dutch to drain themselves to humble France; he roused the resentment of the elector-palatine, he flattered the pride of the elector of Brandenburg, who wanted to be king, by holding the napkin to him at table, by which he drew from him a supply of 8000 men. Prince Eugene, on his side, had no sooner finished one campaign, than he went to Vienna to make preparations for another. We may easily judge, whether an army is better supplied, where the general is at the same time the prime minister.

These two great men, who had sometimes the command jointly, sometimes separately, always understood each other. They had frequent conferences at the Hague, with the grand pensionary Heinsius and the secretary Fagel, who governed the United-Provinces with equal abilities, and better success than the Barneveldts and de Wits. They, in concert, continually set the springs of one half of Europe in play against the house of Bourbon; and the French ministry was at that time much too weak to oppose, for any length of time, those combined forces. The plan of operations for the campaign was always kept an inviolable secret. They settled their designs amongst themselves, and did not entrust them even to those, who were to second them, but at the instant of execution. Chamillard, on the contrary, being neither a politician, a warrior, nor even acquainted with the management of the revenue, and who yet acted as prime-minister, was unable to plan any designs of his own; and was therefore obliged to be beholden to inferior people for their assistance. His secret was almost always divulged, even before he himself knew exactly what was to be done. Of this the marquis de Feuquieres accuses him with great justice; and Madame de Maintenon acknowledges, in her letters, that she had made choice of a man who was not fit for the ministry. This was one of the principal causes of the misfortunes which beset France.

Marlborough

Marlborough, as soon as he came to the command of the allied army in Flanders, shewed that he had learnt the art of war of the great Turenne, under whom he had, in his younger days, made his first campaigns as a volunteer. He was then known in the army only by the name of the handsome Englishman : but Turenne soon perceived, that this handsome Englishman would one day be a great man. He began his command, by raising several subaltern officers, in whom he had discovered merit, and who were till then unknown, without confining himself to the order of military rank, which we in France call the order of the *Tableau*. He was sensible, that when preferment is only the consequence of seniority, all emulation must perish ; and that an officer is not always the most serviceable for being the most ancient. He presently formed men. He gained ground upon the French without hazarding a battle. Ginkel, earl of Athlone, the Dutch general, disputed the command with him the first month, and, before six weeks were at an end, was obliged to yield to him in every respect. The king of France sent his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, against him, a wise and upright prince, born to make a people happy. The marshal de Boufflers, a man of indefatigable courage, commanded the army under the young prince. But the duke of Burgundy, after having seen several places taken before his face, and being obliged to retreat by the skilful marches of the English, returned to Versailles before the campaign was half over, leaving Boufflers to be a witness to Marlborough's successes, who took Venlo, Rurémunde, and Liege, and continued advancing without losing the superiority one instant.

When Marlborough returned to London at the close of this campaign, he received all the honours that could be bestowed in a monarchy and a republic. He was created duke by the queen ; and, what was still more flattering, he received the thanks of the two houses of parliament, who sent deputies to compliment him at his own house.

But now there arose a person, who seemed likely to restore the drooping fortunes of France. This was the

marshal duke de Villars, then lieutenant-general, and whom we have since seen, at the age of eighty-two, commander in chief of the armies of France, Spain, and Sardinia: this man had a great share of boldness and confidence, and had himself been the architect of his own fortune, by his unwearied perseverance in the discharge of his duty. He sometimes offended Lewis XIV. and what was still more dangerous, his minister Louvois, by speaking to them with the same boldness with which he served. He was accused of not having a modesty becoming his courage. But at length it was seen, that he had a genius formed for war, and to command Frenchmen. He had been greatly advanced within a few years, after having been left a long time unnoticed.

Never was there a man, whose preferment created more jealousy, and with less reason. He was marshal of France, duke and peer, and governor of Provence: but then he had saved the state; and others, who had ruined it, or had no other claim but that of being courtiers, had met with as great rewards. He was even upbraided with the riches which he acquired, by contributions in the enemy's country, a just and reasonable reward for his valour and conduct; while those, who had amassed fortunes of ten times the value, by the most scandalous methods, continued to enjoy them with the approbation of the public. He did not begin to taste the sweets of the reputation he had acquired, till he was near eighty; and he must have outlived the whole court, to have enjoyed it undisturbed.

It may not be amiss to acquaint the world with the reason of this injustice in mankind. It was owing to the want of art in marshal Villars: he had not enough to make himself friends, with integrity and understanding; nor to set a proper value upon himself, by speaking that of himself, which he deserved that others should say of him.

One day that he was taking leave of the king, he said to him before the whole court, "Sire, I am going to fight against your majesty's enemies, and leave you in the midst of mine." He said to the courtiers of the duke

duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, who were all grown rich by that subversion of the state called system, "For my part I never got any thing, but by the enemies of my country." These speeches, which were accompanied with the same courage as his actions, were too humbling to those, who were already sufficiently incensed at his good fortune.

At the beginning of the war he was one of the lieutenant-generals, who had the command of the detachments in Alsace. His army was at that time in the mountains of Brisgaw, which border upon the Black Forest; and this immense forest separated the elector of Bavaria's army from the French. Catinat, who commanded in Strasburg, had too much circumspection in his conduct, to think of attacking the prince of Baden at such a disadvantage; as in case of a repulse the French army must infallibly be lost, and Alsace laid open. Villars, who had resolved to be marshal of France, or to die in the attempt, hazarded what Catinat did not dare to undertake. He wrote to court for permission; and then marched towards the Imperialists at Friedlengen, with an inferior army, and fought the battle of that name.

The horse engaged in the plain, the foot climbed up to the top of the hill, and attacked the German infantry, which was entrenched in the woods. I have more than once heard marshal Villars himself Oct. 14, say, that after the battle was won, and as he 1702. was marching at the head of his infantry, a voice was heard crying out, "We are cut off;" upon which the whole body immediately took to flight. He directly ran up to them, crying out, "What is the matter, friends? we have gained the victory; God bless the king." The soldiers, all pale and trembling, repeated, "God bless the king," and began to fly as before. He declared, that he never met with more difficulty, than in rallying the conquerors, and that if only two of the enemy's regiments had shewed themselves at that instant of general panic, the French would have been beaten: so frequently does the fate of battles depend upon mere chance.

The prince of Eaden, though he lost three thousand men, with all his cannon, was driven out of the field of battle, and pursued for two leagues, through woods and defiles, while, as a proof of his defeat, the fort of Friedlengen capitulated. Nevertheless, he wrote to the court of Vienna, that he had gained the victory, and ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, which was more shameful to him than even the loss of the battle.

The French, recovered from their panic, proclaimed Villars marshal of France on the field of battle; and the king, a fortnight afterwards, confirmed the title which the soldiers had conferred on him.

Marshal Villars, having afterwards joined the elector of Bavaria with his victorious army, found him likewise a conqueror, gaining ground of the enemy, and in possession of the imperial city of Ratisbon, where the assembly of the empire had lately vowed his destruction.

Villars was better qualified to serve his country, when acting only according to his own genius, than in concert with another. He carried, or rather dragged, the elector across the Danube; but no sooner had they passed that river, than the elector began to repent of what he had done, perceiving, that, upon the least check, he should be obliged to leave his dominions at the enemy's mercy. The count of Styrum, at the head of near twenty thousand men, was in march to join the grand army under the prince of Baden, near Donawert. The marshal told the elector that this must be prevented, by marching directly and attacking Styrum. The elector, willing to temporize, replied, that he must consult his ministers and generals upon that head. "Am not I your minister and general?" answered Villars. Do you want any other council but me when you are to give battle?" The prince, full of the danger which threatened his dominions, still kept back, and even grew angry with the general. "Well then, said Villars, if your electoral highness will not embrace this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will begin the battle with the French;" and immediately gave orders for the attack.

rack. The prince was incensed*, and looked upon Villars as a madman, but was obliged to fight against his will. This was in the plains of Hochstet, near Donawert.

After the first charge there appeared another instance of the effect of chance in battles. The enemy's army, and that of the French, were Sept. 20, both seized at the same time with a panic, and fled; and marshal Villars saw himself left alone for some minutes on the field of battle: however, he rallied his troops, led them back to the charge, and gained the victory. Three thousand of the Imperialists were left dead on the field, and four thousand taken prisoners, with their cannon and baggage. The elector made himself master of Augsburg. The road to Vienna was open, and it was even debated in the emperor's council, whether he should quit his capital.

The emperor was excusable for his apprehensions; he was beaten every where. The duke of Burgundy, with the marshals Tallard and Vauban under him, had just taken Old Brisac; and Tallard had not only taken Landau, but had also defeated the prince of Hesse, afterwards king of Sweden, near Spire, as he was attempting to relieve the town. If we believe the marquis de Feuquieres, (a most excellent officer, and complete judge in the military art, though rather too severe in his decisions,) marshal Tallard won the battle by a fault and a mistake. However, he wrote thus to the king from the field of battle: "Sire, your majesty's army has taken more standards and colours than it has lost private men."

In this action there was more execution done by the bayonet, than in any other during the war. The French have a singular advantage in the use of this weapon, on account of their natural impetuosity; but it is now become more menacing than fatal: the quick

E 3

and

* All this may be found in the memoirs of the marshal de Villars in manuscript, where I myself have seen every circumstance. The first volume of these memoirs in print are really his, the two others are by another hand, and somewhat different.

and close firing has prevailed in its stead. The English and Germans were accustomed to fire in divisions, with greater order and readiness than the French. The Prussians were the first who loaded with iron rammers. The second king of Prussia taught his troops such an exercise, that they could fire six times in a minute, with great ease. Three ranks discharging their fire at once, and then advancing briskly up, decide the fate of the battle now-a-days. The field-pieces likewise produce a no less formidable effect. The battalions, who are staggered with the fire, do not wait to be attacked with the bayonet, and are completely defeated by the cavalry: so that the bayonet frightens more than it slays, and the sword is become absolutely useless to the infantry. Strength of body, skill, and courage, are no longer of any service to a combatant. The battalions are great machines, and those, which are best formed, naturally bear down all that stand in their way. This was the very thing which gave prince Eugene the victory over the Turks, in those famous battles of Temiskwar and Belgrade; while the latter would, in all probability, have had the advantage from their superiority of numbers, had these battles been what we called mixed fights. Thus, the art of destroying each other is not only entirely different, from what it was before the invention of gunpowder, but even from what it was a century ago.

As the French arms maintained their reputation with such success at first in Germany, it was presumed that marshal Villars would carry it still farther, by an impetuosity which would disconcert the German phlegm: but the same qualification, which made him a formidable chief, rendered it impossible for him to act in concert with the elector of Bavaria. The king would not suffer his generals to shew haughtiness to any but his enemies; and the elector of Bavaria unhappily wrote for another marshal of France.

Villars then, whose presence was so necessary in Germany, where he had gained two battles, and might possibly have crushed the empire, was recalled, and sent into the Cevennes, to make peace with the rebellious peasants.

peasants. We shall speak of these fanatics in the chapter of religion. Lewis XIV. had at this time enemies, that were more terrible, successful, and irreconcilable, than the inhabitants of the Cevennes.

C H A P. CLXXXII.

Loss of the Battle of HOCHSTET, or BLENHEIM.

THE duke of Marlborough was returned from the Low Countries in the beginning of 1703. with the same conduct and the same success. He had taken Bonn, the residence of the elector of Cologne. From thence he marched and retook Hui and Limburg, and made himself master of all the Lower Rhine. Marshal Villeroi, now returned from his confinement, commanded in Flanders, where he had no better success against Marlborough, than he had had against prince Eugene. Marshal Boufflers, with a detachment of his army, had indeed gained a small advantage in the fight of Eckeren, over the Dutch general, Opdam; but an advantage, which has no consequences, is no advantage at all.

And now the house of Austria was undone, without the English general marched to the assistance of the emperor. The elector of Bavaria was master of Passau. Thirty thousand French, under the command of marshal Marsin, who had succeeded Villars, overspread the countries of the other side the Danube. There were several flying parties in Austria. Vienna itself was threatened on one side by the French and Bavarians, and on the other by prince Ragotski, at the head of the Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and supplied with money from the French and the Turks. In this situation of affairs, prince Eugene hastens from Italy to take the command of the armies in Germany: he has an interview with the duke of Marlborough at Heelbron.

The English general, whose hands were at full liberty, being left to act as he pleased by his queen, and her allies the Dutch, marches with succours into the heart of the empire, taking with him, for the present, ten thousand English foot, and twenty-three squadrons of horse. He makes forced marches, and arrives on the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, opposite to the elector of Bavaria's lines, where about eight thousand French and as many Bavarians lay entrenched, to guard the country they had conquered. After an engagement of two hours, Marlborough forces the lines, at the head of three battalions of English, and routs the Bavarians and French. It is said that he killed six thousand of the enemy, and lost as many himself. A general concerns himself little about the number of slain, provided he succeeds in his enterprize. He then took Donawert, repassed the Danube, and laid Bavaria under contribution.

Marshal Villeroi, who attempted to follow him in his first marches, lost sight of him on a sudden, and knew not where he was, till he heard the news of his victory at Donawert.

Marshal Tallard, who with a corps of thirty thousand men, had marched by another route to oppose Marlborough, came and joined the elector. At the same time prince Eugene arrives, and joins Marlborough.

At length the two armies met, within a small distance of Donawert, and nearly in the same plains, where marshal Villars had gained a victory the year before. I know that the marshal, who was then in the Cevennes, having received a letter from Tallard's army, wrote the night before the battle, acquainting him with the disposition of the two armies, and the manner in which marshal Tallard intended to engage, wrote to his brother-in-law, the president de Maisons, telling him that, if marshal Tallard gave the enemy battle in that position, he must infallibly be beaten. This letter was shewn to Lewis XIV. and afterwards became public.

The

The French army, including the Bavarians, consisted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons, which made in all near sixty thousand men, the corps being then not quite complete. The enemy had sixty-four battalions, and one hundred and fifty-two squadrons, in all not above fifty-two thousand men; for armies are always made more numerous than they really are. This battle, that proved so bloody and decisive, deserves a particular attention. The French generals were accused of a number of errors; the chief was, the having brought themselves under a necessity of accepting a battle, instead of letting the enemy's army waste itself for want of forage, and giving time to marshal Villeroy, either to fall upon the Netherlands, then in a defenceless state, or to penetrate farther into Germany. But it should be considered in reply to this accusation, that the French army being somewhat stronger than that of the allies, might hope for the victory, which indeed would have infallibly dethroned the emperor. The marquis de Feuquieres reckons up no less than twelve capital faults, committed by the Elector, Marfin, and Tallard, before and after the battle. One of the most considerable was, the not having placed a large body of foot in their centre, and having separated the two bodies of the army. I have often heard marshal Villars say, that this disposition was unpardonable.

Marshal Tallard was at the head of the right wing, and the Elector, with Marfin, at the left. Tallard had all the impetuous and spritely courage of a Frenchman, an active and penetrating understanding, and a genius fruitful in expedients and resources. It was he who had made the partition treaties. He was allied to glory and fortune by all the ways of a man of genius and courage. The battle of Spire had gained him great honour, notwithstanding the animadversions of Feuquieres; for a victorious general never appears culpable in the eyes of the public, while he who is beaten is always in the wrong, however just or prudent his conduct may have been.

But marshal Tallard laboured under a malady of very dangerous consequences to a general ; his sight was so weak, that he could not distinguish objects at the distance of twenty paces from him. Those who were well acquainted with him have told me moreover, that his impetuous courage, quite the reverse of the duke of Marlborough's, growing still warmer in the heat of the action, deprived him sometimes of the necessary presence of mind. This defect was owing to a dry and inflammatory state of the blood. It is well known, that the qualifications of the mind are chiefly influenced by the constitution of the body.

This was the first time that marshal Marsin had commanded in chief. With a great deal of wit and a good understanding, he is said to have had rather the experience of a good officer than of a general.

As to the elector of Bavaria, he was looked upon not less as a great general, than as a valiant and amiable prince, the darling of his subjects, and who had more magnanimity than application.

At length the battle began, between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon. Marlborough with his English, having passed a small rivulet, began the attack upon Tallard's cavalry. That general, a little before, had rode towards the left wing to observe its disposition. It was no small disadvantage to Tallard's corps from the beginning, to be obliged to fight without its general at its head. The corps commanded by the elector Marsin, had not yet been attacked by prince Eugene. Marlborough began upon our right near an hour before Eugene could have come up to the elector at our left.

As soon as marshal Tallard heard that Marlborough had attacked his wing, he immediately posted thither, where he found a furious action begun ; the French cavalry rallied three times, and was as often repulsed. He then went to the village of Blenheim, where he had posted twenty-seven battalions, and twelve squadrons. This was a little detached army, that kept a continual fire on Marlborough, during the whole time he was engaged with Tallard's wing. After giving his orders in
this

this village, he hastens back to the place, where the duke, with a body of horse, and battalions of foot between the squadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him.

Mr. de Feuquieres is certainly mistaken in saying, that marshal Tallard was not present at this time, but was taken prisoner as he was returning from Marsin's wing to his own. All accounts agree, and it was but too true for him, that he was actually present. He received a hurt in the action, and his son was mortally wounded by his side. His cavalry was routed before his face. The victorious Marlborough forced his way between the two bodies of the French army on one side, while on the other, his general officers got between the village of Blenheim and Tallard's division, which was also separated from the little army in that village.

In this cruel situation, marshal Tallard flew to rally some of the broken squadrons; but the badness of his sight made him mistake a squadron of the enemy for one of his own, and he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops that were in the English pay. At the very instant that the general was taken, prince Eugene, after having been three times repulsed, at length gained the advantage. The rout now became total in Tallard's division; every one fled with the utmost precipitation; and so great was the terror and confusion throughout the whole wing, that officers and soldiers ran headlong into the Danube, without knowing whither they were going. There was no general officer to give orders for a retreat; no one thought of saving those twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons of the best troops of France, that were so unfortunately shut up in Blenheim, or of bringing them into action. At last marshal Marsin ordered a retreat. The count du Bourg, afterwards marshal of France, saved a small part of the infantry, by retreating over the marshes of Hochstet; but neither he, Marsin, nor any one else, thought of this little army, which still remained in Blenheim, waiting for orders, which were never sent them. It consisted of eleven thousand effective men, from the oldest corps. There are many examples of less armies, that

that have beaten others of fifty thousand men, or at least made a glorious retreat ; but the nature of the post determines every thing. It was impossible for them to get out of the narrow streets of a village, and range themselves in order of battle, in the face of a victorious army, that would have overwhelmed them at once with a superior front, and even with their own artillery, which was all fallen into the victors hands.

The general officer who commanded here was the marquis of Clerembaut, son to the marshal of that name : he was hastening to find out marshal Tallard, to receive orders from him, when he was told that he was taken prisoner ; and seeing nothing but people running on all sides, he fled with them, and in flying was drowned in the Danube.

Brigadier Sivieres, who was posted in this village, ventured upon a bold stroke : he called aloud to the officers of the regiments of Artois and Province, to follow him : several officers even of other regiments obeyed the summons, and rushing out of the village, like those who make a sally from a town that is besieged, fell upon the enemy ; but after this sally they were to return back again. One of these officers, named Des-Nonvilles, returned some few moments afterwards on horseback, with the earl of Orkney. As soon as he entered the village, the rest of the officers flocked round him, enquiring if it was an English prisoner that he had brought in ? “ No, gentlemen, replied he, I am a prisoner myself, and am come to tell you, that you have nothing left but to surrender yourselves prisoners of war. Here is the earl of Orkney, who is come to offer you terms.” At hearing this, all these old bands shuddered with horror : the regiment of Navarre tore its colours, and buried them. But, at length, they were obliged to yield to necessity ; and this whole army laid down its arms without having struck a blow. My lord Orkney has told me, that it was impossible for them to do otherwise in their confined situation. Europe was struck with astonishment, that the best troops in France should have suffered such disgrace. Their misfortune was at first imputed to cowardice ; but a few years afterwards, the
same

same thing happening to fourteen thousand Swedes, who surrendered at discretion to the Muscovites, in the open field, fully justified the French.

Such was this famous action, which in France was known by the name of the battle of Hochster, and by the English and Germans was called Aug. 13, the battle of Blenheim. The victors had 1704. near five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded; the greatest part of which loss fell on the side of the prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely cut to pieces. Of sixty thousand men, who had been so long victorious, not above twenty thousand could be gathered together after the battle.

This fatal day was distinguished by the loss of twenty thousand men killed, fourteen thousand made prisoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of standards, colours, tents and equipages, with the general of the army, and twelve hundred officers of note, in the hands of the conquerors. The runaways dispersed themselves on all sides; and upwards of an hundred leagues of country were lost in less than a month. The whole electorate of Bavaria, now fallen under the yoke of the emperor, experienced all the severity of Austrian resentment, and all the cruelties of a rapacious soldiery. The elector in his way to Brussels, whither he was flying for refuge, met with his brother the elector of Cologne, who like him was driven out of his dominions: they embraced each other with a flood of tears. The court of Versailles, accustomed to continual successes, was struck with astonishment and confusion at this reverse. The news of the defeat arrived in the midst of the rejoicings, made on account of the birth of a great grand-son of Lewis XIV. No one would venture to acquaint the king with this cruel truth. At length madame de Maintenon took upon her to let him know that he was no longer invincible. It has been affirmed, both by word of mouth and in writing, and the same has been repeated in above twenty different histories, that the emperor ordered a monument of this defeat to be erected in the plains of Blenheim, with an inscription greatly

greatly to the dishonour of the French king; but no such monument ever existed *.

The English alone erected one to the honour of their duke of Marlborough. The queen and the parliament built an immense palace for him on one of his principal estates, to which they gave the name of Blenheim, where this battle is represented in most curious paintings and tapestry. The thanks of the two houses of parliament, and of the cities and boroughs, and the general acclamation of the people, were the first fruits he received from his victory. But the poem, written by the famous Addison, a monument more durable than the palace of Blenheim, is reckoned by this warlike and learned nation, among the most honourable rewards bestowed on the duke of Marlborough. The emperor created him a prince of the empire, bestowed on him the principality of Mindelsheim, which was afterwards exchanged for another; but he was never known by that title; the name of Marlborough being now the most noble he could bear.

By the dispersion of the French army, an open passage was left to the allies from the Danube to the Rhine. They passed the latter of these rivers, and entered Alsace. Prince Lewis of Baden, a general famous for his encampments and marches, invested Landau. Nov. 13 Joseph, king of the Romans, eldest son of and 23, the emperor Leopold, came to be present at 1704. this siege; Landau was taken, and afterwards Traerbach.

Notwithstanding the loss of an hundred leagues of country, the French extended their frontiers. Lewis XIV. supported his grandson in Spain, and his arms were victorious in Italy. It required great efforts to make head against the victorious Marlborough in Germany, which however he did; the scattered remains of the army were gathered together, the garrisons were ordered

* Retoulet assures us, that the emperor Leopold actually caused such a pyramid to be erected, and it was firmly believed in France, till marshal Villars in 1707 sent fifty masons thither to demolish it, who could find no such thing.

ordered to furnish men, and the militia were ordered to take the field. The ministry borrowed money every where. At length an army was got together; and marshal Villars was recalled from the heart of the Cevennes to take the command upon him. He came and joined the army at Triers, where he found himself in presence of the English general with an inferior army. Both sides were desirous of giving battle; but the prince of Baden not coming up soon enough to join his troops to those of the English, Villars had the honour of obliging Marlborough to decamp. This May, was doing a great deal at that time. The 1705. duke of Marlborough, who had a sufficient esteem for marshal Villars to wish to be esteemed by him again, wrote him the following billet while he was decamping: "Do me the justice, Sir, to believe, that my retreat is entirely the prince of Baden's fault, and that I esteem you even more than I am angry with him."

The French had still some barriers in Germany. The enemy had not yet done any thing in Flanders, where marshal Villeroy, now at liberty, had the command. In Spain, king Philip V. and the archduke Charles, were both in expectation of the crown, the former, from the powerful assistance of his grandfather, and the good-will of the greater part of the Spaniards; the latter, from the assistance of the English, and the partisans he had in Catalonia and Arragon. This archduke, afterwards emperor, and at that time second son to the emperor Leopold, went, towards the latter part of 1703, without any retinue, to London, to implore the assistance of queen Anne.

Now the English power appeared in all its glory. This nation, which had in fact so little to do with this quarrel, furnished the Austrian prince with two hundred transport-ships, thirty ships of war, joined to ten sail of the Dutch, nine thousand men, and a sum of money, to go and conquer a kingdom for himself. But notwithstanding the superiority, which power and benefits confer, the emperor, in his letter to queen Anne, which the archduke presented, would not give this princess, his

his benefactress, the title of majesty, but only that of serenity *, agreeable to the stile of the court of Vienna, which custom alone could justify, and which reason has since changed, when pride has been obliged to stoop to necessity.

C H A P. CLXXXIII.

Losses in SPAIN. Loss of the Battles of RAMILLIES and TURIN, and their Consequences.

ONE of the first exploits performed by these English troops was the taking of Gibraltar, a place justly deemed impregnable. A long chain of steep rocks forbid all approach to it by land; it had no harbour, but only a long bay, very wild and unsafe, where ships lay exposed to storms, and the artillery of the fortress and mole: the inhabitants of the town were alone sufficient to defend it against a fleet of a thousand ships, and an hundred thousand men. But this very strength was the cause of its being taken; there were only an hundred men in garrison, but these were more than sufficient, had they not neglected a duty which they looked upon as useless. The prince of Hesse had landed with eighteen hundred soldiers on the northernmost neck of land, behind the town; but the steepness of the rock made an attack upon the place impracticable on that side. The fleet in vain fired upwards of fifteen thousand shot; at length a body of sailors, in one of their merry-makings, happened to row close under the mole, in their boats, the cannon of which must infallibly have sunk them all, but not a gun was fired; upon this they
 Aug. 4. mount the mole, make themselves masters of
 1704. it, and fresh troops flocking in on all sides, this impregnable town was at length obliged
 to

* Rebonlét says that the German chancery gave the title of Dilection to kings, but this is the title given to electors.

to surrender. It is still in possession of the English; and Spain, now again become a formidable power under the administration of the princess of Parma*, second wife to Philip V. and lately victorious in Africa and Italy, beholds with an impotent grief, Gibraltar in the hands of a northern nation, that had hardly a single ship in the Mediterranean two centuries ago.

Immediately after the taking of Gibraltar, the English fleet, now mistress of the sea, attacked the count de Toulouse, admiral of France, in view of the castle of Malaga. This battle, though not a decisive one, was the last epocha of the maritime power of Lewis XIV. His natural son the count de Toulouse, admiral of the kingdom, had fifty ships of the line and twenty-four galleys under his command. He made a glorious retreat, with very little loss. But the king having afterwards sent thirteen ships to attack Gibraltar, while marshal de Tessé laid siege to it by land; this double rashness proved the ruin of both army and fleet. Some of the ships were destroyed by a storm, others were boarded and taken by the English after a most noble resistance, and another part of them burnt on the coast of Spain. From that day the French had no longer any large fleets, either in the Western Ocean or the Mediterranean. The marine returned nearly to the same state from whence Lewis XIV. had drawn it, as well as many other glorious things, which rose and set under his reign.

The English, who had taken Gibraltar for themselves, in less than six weeks conquered the kingdom of Valentia and Catalonia for the archduke Charles. They took Barcelona by an event of chance, which was owing to the rashness of the besiegers.

The English were at that time commanded by one of the most extraordinary men ever produced by that country, so fruitful in proud, valiant, and whimsical minds. This was the earl of Peterborough, a man who,

* This was written in the year 1745.

who, in every respect, resembled those heroes with whose exploits the imagination of the Spaniards has filled so many books. At fifteen years of age he left London, to go and make war against the Moors in Africa; at twenty he was the first who set on foot the revolution in England, and went over to the prince of Orange; but, lest the true reason of his voyage should be suspected, he took shipping for America, and then went over to the Hague in a Dutch vessel. He parted with all his fortune more than once. He was now carrying on the war in Spain almost at his own expence, and maintained the archduke and all his household. It was this extraordinary man, who, with the prince of Hesse Darmstadt*, was laying siege to Barcelona. He proposed to the prince to make a sudden attack on the entrenchments, which covered Fort Montjoui and the town. These entrenchments were carried sword in hand; the prince of Darmstadt fell in the attack. A bomb, falling upon a magazine of powder in the fort, blew it up. The fort was taken, and the town thereupon capitulated. The vice-roy came to one of the gates of the town, to confer with lord Peterborough; but the articles were not yet signed, when their ears were suddenly struck with loud cries and shrieks. "You have betrayed us, my lord, said the vice-roy to Peterborough; we made a fair capitulation, and there are your English have entered the city over the ramparts, and are killing, robbing, and plundering every one." "You are mistaken, replied lord Peterborough, it must certainly be the prince of Darmstadt's troops. There is no other way left to save your town, but to let me enter immediately with my English. I will make every thing quiet, and return again to the gate to sign the capitulation." He spoke this with an air of truth and grandeur that, added to the present danger, entirely persuaded the governor, who immediately let him enter. He flew through the streets with his officers, where he presently found the Germans and Catalans busy in plundering

* Reboulet, in his history, calls this prince the head of the rebels, as if he had been a Spaniard, who had rebelled against Philip V.

dering the houses of the principal citizens; he drove them off and made them quit their booty. After this he meets with the duchess of Popoli in the hands of some soldiers, who were going to dishonour her; he takes her from them and delivers her to her husband. At length, having made every thing quiet, he returns to the gate according to his promise, and signs the capitulation. The Spaniards were confounded to find such magnanimity in the English, whom the populace had always been taught to look upon as merciless barbarians, because they were heretics.

To the loss of Barcelona succeeded the mortification of a fruitless attempt to retake it. Philip V. though he had the greater part of Spain in his interest, had neither generals, engineers, or hardly soldiers. The count of Toulouse returned to block up the harbour with twenty-five ships of war, the whole remains of the French navy; marshal Tessé formed the siege by land with thirty-one squadrons of horse, and thirty-seven battalions of foot; but the English fleet appearing, that of France was obliged to retire, and Tessé raised the siege with precipitation, leaving an immense quantity of provisions behind him in his camp, and one thousand five hundred wounded to the mercy of lord Peterborough. These were heavy losses; and it could hardly be said, whether it had cost France more to conquer Spain, than it now did to assist it. Nevertheless, the grandson of Lewis XIV. still kept his ground, through the affection of the Castilians, whose greatest pride is their fidelity, and who, on this occasion, continued firm to the choice they had made.

In Italy affairs wore a better aspect; Lewis was revenged of the duke of Savoy; the duke of Vendôme had, in the beginning, repulsed prince Eugene with some glory, in the battle of Cassano, near the Adda; this proved a bloody day, and one of those drawn battles, for which both sides sing *Te Deum*, and that only serve to destroy men without advancing the affairs of either party.

April 19, party. After the battle of Cassano he
 1706. gained a complete victory at Cassinato*,
 in the absence of prince Eugene; and that
 prince, arriving next day, saw another detachment
 of his army intirely routed: in short, the allies were
 obliged to give ground every where before the duke
 of Vendôme. Turin alone remained to be taken;
 they were already in march to invest it, and there
 appeared no possibility of relieving it. Marshal Villars
 pushed the prince of Baden in Germany. Villeroi
 with an army of eighty thousand men in Germany,
 was in hopes to indemnify himself on Marlborough for
 the ill success he had met with against prince Eugene.
 His too great confidence in his own abilities proved
 now more fatal than ever to France.

Marshal Villeroi's army was encamped near the
 river Mehaigne, by the heads of the little Ghette; his
 centre was at Ramillies, a village since as famous as
 that of Blenheim. It was in his power to have avoid-
 ed a battle: he was advised to do so by his general
 officers; but a blind passion for glory prevailed over
 every other consideration. It is said that the disposi-
 tion he made for the battle was such that every one of
 the least experience foresaw the fatal consequence. His
 centre was composed of new-raised troops, neither
 complete nor acquainted with military discipline. He
 left the baggage between the lines, and posted his left
 wing behind a morass, as if he intended to prevent it
 from coming near the enemy †.

Marlborough, who observed all these mistakes
 with a careful eye, drew up his army in
 May 23, such a manner as to take advantage of them;
 1706. he perceived that the left wing of the French
 army could not come up to attack his right; he there-
 fore

* It was the count de Reventlau, a native of Denmark, who
 commanded at the battle of Cassinato, but the troops were all Im-
 perialists.

La Baumete observes on this occasion, in his notes on the Age of
 Lewis XIV. "That the Danes are as little worth abroad as at
 home." It is very extraordinary to see a writer thus abusing every
 nation.

† See Feuquieres's memoirs.

fore made draughts from that part of his army, in order to fall upon the enemy's centre at Ramillies, with a superior force. Monsieur de Gassion, the lieutenant-general, observing these motions, cried out to the marshal, "You are undone, Sir, if you do not instantly change the order of battle. Make a draught from your left wing, that you may have an equal force to oppose to the enemy. Close your lines more. If you lose a minute, you are irrecoverably lost." This salutary advice was backed by several of the other officers; but the marshal would not believe them. When Marlborough began the attack, he found the army drawn up in the very manner in which he himself would have posted it for a defeat. This was publicly declared through all France, and history is partly a relation of the opinions of men; but may it not be alledged that the troops of the confederates were better disciplined, and that the confidence they had in their generals, and their past successes, inspired them with superior boldness? Were there not some of the French regiments who did not do their duty? And do we not know that those battalions who can best stand fire, decide the destiny of states? The French army did not maintain its ground for half an hour; at Hochstet the fight lasted for eight hours, and the French killed the victors upwards of eight thousand men; but, at the battle of Ramillies, they killed them only two thousand five hundred. The defeat was general; the French lost twenty thousand men, together with the honour of their nation, and every hope of recovering the advantage. Bavaria and Cologne had been lost by the battle of Blenheim, and all Spanish Flanders was now lost by this of Ramillies; Marlborough entered victorious into Antwerp and Brussels, took Ostend, and Menin surrendered to him.

Marshal Villeroi, in despair, did not dare to acquaint the king with this defeat; he continued five days without dispatching a courier. At length he wrote a confirmation of this news, which had already filled the court of France with consternation: and when he returned to Versailles to present himself to the king, that

that monarch, instead of reproaching him, only said, "Monsieur la marechal, people at our time of life are not fortunate."

The king immediately sent for the duke of Vendôme out of Italy, where he thought his presence not necessary, in order to replace Villeroi in Flanders, and repair, if possible, his disgrace. He still entertained hopes, and with just reason, that the taking of Turin would make him amends for all these losses. Prince Eugene was at too great a distance to come to its relief; he was on the other side the Adigi, and a long chain of intrenchments that lined the river on this side, seemed to make a passage impracticable. Forty-six squadrons and an hundred battalions formed the siege of this great city.

The duke de Feuillade, who commanded this army, was the gayest and most amiable man in the kingdom; and, though son-in-law to the minister, he was the darling of the people; he was son to that marshal de la Feuillade who erected the statue of Lewis XIV. in the square des Victoires. He appeared to have as much courage as his father; the same ambition; the same magnificence; and more understanding. He expected the staff of marshal of France as a reward for his taking Turin. Chamillard, his father-in-law, who loved him tenderly, had left nothing undone to secure him success. The imagination stands appalled at the detail of the preparations made for this siege. Those readers who have it not in their power to inform themselves of these matters, may perhaps not be displeased to meet here with an account of this immense and fruitless apparatus.

There were an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and it is to be observed, that each large cannon, mounted on its carriage, costs about two thousand crowns; one hundred and ten thousand balls, one hundred and six thousand cartridges of one form, and three hundred thousand of another, twenty-one thousand bomb shells, twenty-seven thousand seven hundred hand grenades, fifteen thousand sand-bags, thirty thousand pioneering-tools, and twelve hundred thousand pounds weight of powder,

powder, besides lead, iron, tin, cordage, with every thing proper for the miners, sulphur, salt petre, and implements of all kinds. It is certain that the expence of all these preparations for destruction, was more than sufficient to have founded a numerous colony, and put it into a flourishing condition. Every siege of a great town requires the same prodigious expence, and yet when a little village is to be repaired at home, it is neglected.

The duke de la Feuillade full of ardour and activity, inferior to no one in undertakings where courage alone was required, but incapable of conducting those that called for art, reflection, and time, hurried the siege against all rules. Marshal Vauban, the only general perhaps who loved his country better than himself, had proposed to the duke de la Feuillade to come and direct the siege as an engineer, and to serve in his army as a volunteer; but the pride of la Feuillade made him take this offer for insolence, concealed beneath the appearance of modesty, and was piqued that the best engineer in France should presume to give him advice. He wrote back to him in a letter which I have seen, "I hope to take Turin by Cohorn." This Cohorn was the Vauban of the allies, an excellent engineer, and a good general, who had taken several places that had been fortified by Vauban. After such a letter there was a necessity to take Turin; but having begun the attack by the citadel, which was the strongest part, and the city not being completely surrounded, an opening was left for men or provisions to be thrown in, or for the duke of Savoy to sally out. In short, the greater impetuosity the duke de la Feuillade shewed in his repeated and fruitless attacks, the more tedious was the siege*.

The

* During this siege, which continued from May to September, a simple corporal sacrificed his own life for the good of his country, with a spirit equal to that of a Curtius or a Sævola. The French had actually made a lodgment in one of the subterraneous galleries of the citadel, from whence they could have penetrated into the body of the place. A corporal of miners, whose name was Mica, being at work under the gallery, in finishing a mine which was not yet

The duke of Savoy came out of the town with some squadrons of horse, in order to amuse the duke de la Feuillade. The latter immediately quitted the direction of the siege to run after the prince, who, being better acquainted with the ground, baffled his pursuit. Thus la Feuillade missed the duke, and the business of the siege suffered by it.

All our historians, almost to a man, assert, that the duke de la Feuillade had no intention to take Turin, and pretend that he had sworn to the duchess of Burgundy to respect her father's capital; they likewise tell us that this princess prevailed upon madame de Maintenon, to cause such measures to be taken as would save the town. It is certain, that almost all the officers in this army were for a long time persuaded of the truth of this; but it was only one of those popular rumours which are the disgrace of the novelist, and the dishonour of the historian; besides, how contradictory was it, that the same general, who would not take Turin, should endeavour to seize on the person of the duke of Savoy?

From the 13th of May to the 20th of June the duke of Vendôme had been posted on the banks of the Adige, to cover this siege, and thought himself certain, with seventy battalions and sixty squadrons, to stop all the passages against prince Eugene.

The imperial general was in want of men and money. The mercers company of London lent him about six millions of our livres *; he then sent for a supply of
men

yet primed, and foreseeing that the enemy could not fail to have possession of the citadel, unless they were immediately destroyed, devoted his life to the safety of his fellow-citizens. He forthwith primed the mine, and desired one of his companions to tell the king he implored his majesty's protection for his wife and children; then he ordered his pioneers to retire, and make a signal of their being in a place of safety, by firing a musket, which he no sooner heard, than he set fire to the mine, and perished with two hundred grenadiers, who had taken possession of the gallery. The king expressed a sense of this action, by making a very ample provision for Mica's wife and children, and settling an annual pension of six hundred livres for ever on his descendants.

* Or nearly 263300 l. Sterling, at 10½ to the livre.

men from the circles of the empire. The slowness of these succours might have proved the ruin of Italy ; but the slowness of the siege of Turin was still greater.

Vendôme was already appointed to go and repair the losses in Flanders ; but, before he left Italy, he suffered prince Eugene to cross the Adige, to pass the White Canal, and even the Po itself, a river larger, and in some places more difficult of passage than the Rhine ; and before he himself left the banks of the Po, he saw prince Eugene in a condition to advance even to Turin. Thus he left affairs in the most ticklish crisis in Italy, while in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, they appeared desperate.

The duke of Vendôme then went to Mons to assemble Villeroi's scattered forces ; and the duke of Orleans, nephew of Lewis XIV. was sent to command his army on the banks of the Po. He found these troops in as much disorder as if they had suffered a defeat. Eugene had passed the Po in sight of Vendôme ; he now crossed the Tanaro in view of the duke of Orleans, took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio ; stole a march upon the French, and at length joined the duke of Savoy near Asti. All that the duke of Orleans could do was to march and join la Feuillade in his camp before Turin. Prince Eugene followed with the utmost diligence. The duke of Orleans had now two measures in his choice, either to wait for prince Eugene in the lines of circumvallation, or to march and meet him while he was yet on the other side of Veillane. He called a council of war, at which were present marshal Marsin, the same who had lost the battle of Blenheim, the duke de la Feuillade, Albergoti, St. Fremont, and other lieutenant-generals, to whom he thus addressed himself ; " Gentlemen, if we remain in our lines we lose the battle. The lines of circumvallation are above five leagues in length : it will be impossible for us to line all these entrenchments. On one hand here is the regiment of marines, that is not above two men deep ; and, on the other hand, there are many places left entirely naked. The Doire, which runs through our camp, will prevent our men from marching readily to the assistance of one another ; be-

sides, when the French know they are attacked, they lose one of their principal advantages, that impetuosity and instantaneous ardour, which so frequently decide the fate of battles. Believe me, it is our interest to march directly to the enemy." The lieutenant-generals immediately cried out, one and all, "Let us march." Then marshal Marfin drew the king's order out of his pocket, which left every thing to his decision in case of an action, and it was his opinion to remain in the lines.

The duke of Orleans was not a little incensed to find, that he was sent to the army only as a prince of the blood, and not as a general; however, he was obliged to follow Marfin's advice, and made the necessary preparations for this disadvantageous action.

The enemy seemed at first to intend to make several attacks at once; and the variety of their movements threw the French camp into confusion. The duke of Orleans proposed one thing, Marfin and la Feuillade another; they disputed, and concluded upon nothing; till at length they suffered the enemy to pass the Doire, who advanced towards them in eight columns, of twenty-five men deep each. There was an immediate necessity of opposing them with battalions of equal thickness.

Albergoti, who was posted at a distance from the main army, on the Capucins hill, had twenty thousand men with him, and only a body of the enemy's militia to oppose, who did not dare to attack. They sent from the camp for a detachment of twelve thousand men; but he returned for answer, that he could not weaken his division, and gave some specious reasons. Time was lost in these altercations. Prince Eugene

attacks the intrenchments, and in two hours
Sept. 7, time forces them. The duke of Orleans was
1706. wounded, and had retired to be dressed; but

he was scarce got to the surgeon's tent, when word was brought him that all was lost, that the enemy was master of the camp, and that the defeat was become general. Nothing remained but immediate flight; the trenches were abandoned, and the whole
army

army dispersed. All the baggage, provision, and ammunition, together with the military chest, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Marshal Marfin himself was wounded in the thigh, and made prisoner. One of the duke of Savoy's surgeons cut off his thigh, and he died a few minutes after the operation. Sir Paul Methuen, ambassador from England to the court of Turin, the most generous and brave man that his country had ever employed in her embassies, fought by the duke of Savoy's side during the whole action. He was present when marshal Marfin was taken prisoner, and was near him in his last moments; and he told me, that the marshal, when he was dying, spoke to him in these very terms: "Be persuaded, Sir, that it was contrary to my opinion that we waited for you in our lines." These words seem positively to contradict what passed at the council of war, and may nevertheless be true; for Marfin, when he took leave of the king at Versailles, represented to his majesty that it would be proper to march and attack the enemy, in case they should appear to relieve Turin; but Chamillard, intimidated by so many former defeats, had afterwards prevailed that the army should wait in the lines, and not offer battle: and this order given at Versailles occasioned the dispersion of sixty thousand men.

The French had not above two thousand men killed in this engagement; but we have already seen, that a panic does more than even slaughter. The impossibility of finding subsistence, which would make an army retire after a victory, brought back the troops to Dauphiny, after their defeat. Every thing was in such disorder, that the count of Medavy-Grancei, who was at that time in the Mantuan with a body of troops, and beat the Imperialists at Castiglione, under the command of the prince of Hesse, afterwards king of Sweden, gained only a fruitless victory, though it was complete*. In a word, the duchy of Sept. 9.
Milan, Mantua, Piedmont, and lastly the king- 1706.

F 2

dom

* This officer surprised the prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retreat to the Adige, with the loss of two thousand men; but this action was attended with no other consequence

dom of Naples, were all lost within a very little time of one another.

C H A P. CLXXXIV.

The Losses of the FRENCH and SPANIARDS continued. LEWIS XIV. humbled; his perseverance and resources. Battle of MALPLAQUET.

THE battle of Hochstet, or Blenheim, cost Lewis XIV. a fine army, and the whole country from the Danube to the Rhine; and the elector of Bavaria all his dominions. All Flanders was lost to the very gates of Lisle, by the fatal day of Ramillies; and the defeat at Turin drove the French out of Italy, which had always happened to them in every war since the time of Charlemagne. They had still some troops left in the duchy of Milan, and the little victorious army under the count of Medavy. They were also still in possession of some strong places. They offered to give up all these to the emperor, provided he would permit these troops, which amounted to about fifteen thousand men, to retire unmolested. The emperor accepted of the proposition, and the duke of Savoy gave his assent. Thus the emperor, with a dash of his pen, became peaceable possessor of Italy. The kingdom of Naples and Sicily was guarantied to him, and every thing that had formerly been feudal was now treated as subject to a supreme power. He imposed a tax of one hundred and fifty thousand pistoles upon Tuscany; forty thousand upon the duchy of Mantua; and Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Genoa, notwithstanding they were free states, were included in these impositions.

The emperor, who had all these advantages on his side, was not that Leopold, the antient rival of Lewis XIV. who, under a shew of moderation, had secretly cherished the most ambitious views. It was the fiery, spirited, and passionate Joseph, his eldest son, who was

not

so good a soldier as his father. If ever there was an emperor who seemed formed to enslave Germany, it was this Joseph: his dominions stretched beyond the Alps, he laid the pope under contribution, and, by his sole authority, in 1706, had the electors of Bavaria and Cologne put under the ban of the empire, and then stript them of their dominions. He kept Bavaria's children in prison, and took away from them even their name. Their father had nothing left but to retire to France and the Low Countries, afterwards, in 1712; Philip V. ceded to them all Spanish Flanders*. If he could have kept this province, it would have been a better settlement for him than even Bavaria, and have freed him from his subjection to the house of Austria; but he could get possession only of the cities of Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroi, the rest being in the hands of the victors. Every thing now seemed to threaten Lewis XIV. who had so lately been the terror of all Europe. There was nothing to oppose the duke of Savoy's entering France. England and Scotland were lately become one kingdom, by the union: or, rather, Scotland, now become a province of England, encreased the power of its antient rival. In the years 1706 and 1707 all the enemies of France seemed to have acquired new strength, and that kingdom to be on the verge of ruin. She was pushed on all sides, both by sea and land. Of the formidable fleets which Lewis XIV. had raised, scarcely five and twenty ships were left remaining. Strasburg still continued to be the barrier town towards Germany; but by the loss of Landau, all Alsace lay exposed. Provence was threatened with an invasion by sea and land, and the losses already sustained in Flanders, made us tremble for what was left; and yet, notwithstanding all these disasters, the body of the kingdom had not yet been attacked; and, unsuccessful as the war had been, we only lost what we had before conquered.

F 3

Lewis

* It is said in Rebrulét's history, that he had this sovereignty as early as 1700; but at that time it was governed only by a viceroy.

Lewis XIV. still opposed his enemies; and though beaten almost every where, he continued to resist, protect, and even attack on all sides. But affairs were as unsuccessful in Spain as in Italy, Germany, and Flanders. It is said that the siege of Barcelona was still worse conducted than that of Turin.

The count of Thoulouse * had hardly made his appearance with his fleet, when he was obliged to fall back again. Barcelona was relieved, the siege raised, and the French, after having lost half their army, were forced, for want of provisions, to march back into Navarre, a little kingdom that they kept for the Spaniards, and of which our kings take the title by a custom that seems beneath their dignity.

To these disasters was added yet another, which seemed to be the finishing stroke. The Portuguese, together with a body of English, under the command of lord Galloway, a Frenchman, formerly count de Ruigni, lately created a peer of Ireland, took every place they presented themselves before, and were advanced even into the province of Estramadura; while the duke of Berwick, an Englishman, who commanded the troops of France and Spain, in vain attempted to stop their progress.

Philip V. uncertain of his fate, was in Pampelona; while his competitor, Charles, was increasing his party, and augmenting his forces in Catalonia.

He was master of Arragon, the province of Valentia, Carthagená, and part of the province of Granada. The English took Gibraltar for themselves, and gave him Minorca, Ivica, and Alicant: besides, the road of Madrid

* In the beginning of April 1706, king Philip at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, which was defended by his rival Charles, in person. It was at the same time blocked up by sea, by the Count de Thoulouse, and in all probability must have surrendered, had it not been relieved by the English fleet. Sir John Leak sailed from Lisbon with thirty ships of the line, and on the eighth day of May arrived in sight of Barcelona. The French admiral at his approach made the best of his way to Toulon; and in three days after his departure, Philip retired in great disorder, leaving his tents behind, together with his sick and wounded.

drid was open to him, and lord Galloway entered that city without any resistance, and proclaimed the archduke Charles king : a single detachment sent from the army proclaimed him in Toledo. In June 26, short. Philip's affairs seemed so desperate, 1706. that marshal Vauban, the first of engineers, and the best of citizens, a man continually engaged in schemes, some useful, others impracticable, and all of them singular, actually proposed to the French court to send Philip over to America to reign there. In this case all the Spaniards in Philip's interest would have quitted their country to follow him. Spain would have been left a prey to civil factions. The French would have had the whole trade of Peru and Mexico, and France would have been aggrandized even by the misfortunes of Lewis XIV's family. This project was actually in consideration at Versailles ; but the perseverance of the Castilians, and the oversights of the enemy, preserved the crown upon Philip's head. The people loved him as the king of their choice ; and his queen, the duke of Savoy's daughter, had gained their affections by the pains she took to please them ; by an intrepidity above her sex, and an active perseverance under misfortunes. She went in person from city to city, animating the minds of her subjects, rousing their zeal, and receiving the donations which they brought in on all sides ; so that in three weeks time she remitted her husband upwards of two hundred thousand crowns. Not one of the grandees who had taken the oath of fidelity proved false. When lord Galloway proclaimed the archduke in Madrid, the people cried out, " Long live king Philip ;" and at Toledo they mutinied, and put to flight the officers who were going to proclaim Charles.

The Spaniards had till then made very few efforts in support of their king ; but when they saw him thus distressed, they exerted themselves in a surprising manner, and on this occasion shewed an example of a courage quite the reverse of that of other nations, who generally set out in a vigorous manner, but shrink back at last. It is very difficult to impose a king upon a nation

tion against its will. The Portuguese, English, and Austrians, that were in Spain, were miserably harassed wherever they came, suffered much for want of provisions, and were guilty of errors almost unavoidable in a strange country; so that they were beaten piecemeal. In short, Philip V. three months after his leaving Madrid like a fugitive, entered it again in triumph, and was received with as much joy and acclamations as his rival had met with coldness and aversion.

Lewis XIV. redoubled his efforts when he saw the Spaniards bestir themselves; and while he was obliged to provide for the safety of the sea coasts of the western ocean and the Mediterranean, by stationing militia all along shore; though he had one army in Flanders, another at Strasburg, a body of troops in Navarre, and one in Roussillon, he sent a fresh reinforcement to marshal Berwick at Castile.

It was with these troops, seconded by the Spaniards, that Berwick gained the important battle of April Almanza*, in which he beat Galloway. 25, 1707. Neither Philip nor the archduke were present at this action, on which the famous earl of Peterborough, who was singular in every thing, observed, "That it was excellent, indeed, to fight against one another for them." The duke of Orleans, who was to have the command in Spain, and who was very desirous of being present, did not arrive till the day after the battle: however, he made all possible advantage of the victory, by taking several places, and among others Lerida, the rock on which the great Condé had split.

On the other hand, marshal Villars, now replaced at the head of the armies in Germany, because the government could not do without him, made amends for the fatal defeat at Hochstet. He forced the enemy's lines

* This was fought on the fourteenth day of April, 1707, and was altogether a decisive action. The allies were totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men taken prisoners, with all their colours and artillery. The defeat was in a great measure owing to the cowardice of the Portuguese troops on the right, who fled on the first onset.

lines at Stolhoffen, on the other side the Rhine, dispersed their whole body, levied contributions for fifty leagues round, and advanced as far as the Danube. This momentary success gave a better face to affairs on the frontiers of Germany; but in Italy all was lost. The kingdom of Naples, entirely defenceless, and accustomed to a change of masters, was under the yoke of the conquerors; and the pope, unable to refuse a passage to the German troops through his dominions, saw, without daring to murmur, the emperor make himself his vassal against his will. It is a strong instance of the force of received opinions, and the power of custom, that Naples may always be seized upon without consulting the pope, and yet that the possessor is always obliged to do him homage for it.

While the grandson of Lewis XIV. was thus deprived of Naples, the grandfather was on the point of losing Provence and Dauphiny. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had already entered those provinces by the narrow pass of Tende; and Lewis XIV. had the mortification to see that very duke of Savoy, who a twelvemonth before had hardly any thing left but his capital, and prince Eugene, who had been brought up at his court, on the point of stripping him of Toulon and Marseilles.

Toulon was besieged, and in danger of being taken; the English fleet lay before the harbour, and bombarded the town. A little more diligence, precaution and unanimity, would have carried Toulon. Marseilles, then left defenceless, could have made no resistance, and France seemed likely to lose two provinces; but what is probable seldom happens. There was time to send succours; a detachment had been made from marshal Villars's army, as soon as these provinces were threatened; and the advantages in Germany were made to give way to the safety of a part of France. That part of the country by which the enemy entered was dry, barren, and hilly; provisions were scarce, and a retreat difficult. A sickness, which made great havoc in the enemy's army, proved no unfavourable circumstance to

Lewis XIV. The siege of Toulon was raised *, and soon afterwards the enemy evacuated Provence, and Dauphiny was out of danger ; so seldom does an invasion prove successful, unless there is an intelligence with the people of the country. Charles V. failed in the same design, and of late days the queen of Hungary's troops have been likewise disappointed in their attempts upon this country.

However, this invasion, which cost the allies so dear, proved of no small disservice to the French. The country had been spoiled, and our forces divided.

Europe little expected that while the French nation, thus exhausted, thought itself happy in having escaped an invasion, Lewis XIV. was sufficiently great and fruitful in expedients, to attempt himself an invasion in Great Britain, in despite of the weak state of his maritime forces and the powerful fleets of the English that covered the seas. This expedition was proposed by some of the Scotch, in the interest of James III. The success was doubtful ; but Lewis thought the very attempt sufficiently glorious ; and actually declared afterwards, that he was determined as much by this motive as his political interest.

To carry the war into Great Britain at that time, when we could with difficulty support the burthen of it in so many other places, and to endeavour to replace the son of James II. on the throne of Scotland, at least while we could hardly support Philip V. on that of Spain, was a noble idea, and after all not quite destitute of probability.

Those of the Scotch who had not sold themselves to the court of London, were grieved to see themselves reduced to a state of dependence on the English, and privately with one accord called upon the offspring of their

* This attempt upon Toulon might have succeeded, if the emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the maritime powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable army towards Naples ; and detained ten thousand recruits in Germany, from an apprehension of the king of Sweden, who was then in Saxony, and on very indifferent terms with the court of Vienna.

their ancient kings, who in his infancy had been driven from the throne of three kingdoms, and whose very birth had been contested by his enemies. They promised to join him with thirty thousand men in arms to fight his cause, if he would only land at Edinburgh with some few succours from France.

Lewis XIV. who in his past time of prosperity had made such efforts in behalf of the father, now did the same for the son, though his fortunes were in the decline. Eight ships of war and seventy transports were got ready at Dunkirk, and six thousand men put on board. The count de Gacé, afterwards March, marshal Malignon, had the command of the 1708. troops, and the chevalier de Forbin Janson, one of the best sailors of his time, that of the fleet. Every thing seemed favourable for their design: there were but three thousand regular troops in Scotland, England was left defenceless, its soldiers being all engaged in Flanders, under the duke of Marlborough. The difficulty was to get thither; for the English had a fleet of fifty ships of war cruising at sea. This expedition was exactly like the late one in 1744. in favour of the grandson of James II. It was discovered by the government, and impeded by several unlucky accidents; inasmuch that the English ministry had time to send for twelve battalions out of Flanders. Several of the most suspected persons were seized in Edinburgh. At length, the pretender having shewed himself upon the Scotch coast, and not seeing the signals which had been agreed upon, nothing was left but to return back again. The chevalier Forbin landed him safe at Dunkirk *, and by his prudent retreat saved the French fleet; but the expedition

* Lewis XIV. is said to have had other aims than those our author mentions. His chief design was to make a diversion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great Britain, which might hamper the English ministry, and hinder queen Anne from exerting herself against France on the continent. The scheme was defeated by the vigilance of Sir George Byng, commander of the English Squadron, who reached the Frith of Edinburgh time enough to prevent the Pretender's landing. He gave chase to the French Squadron, one of the ships of which he took, and Foubin escaped with great difficulty.

pedition was entirely frustrated. Matignon was the only one who gained any thing on this occasion : having opened his orders after he came out to sea, he there found a patent for marshal of France, a reward for what he meant to do, but could not perform.

There cannot be a more absurd notion than that of some historians, who pretend that queen Anne had a correspondence with her brother in this affair. It is absolute folly to suppose that she would invite her competitor in the crown to come and dethrone her. They have confounded the time, and imagined that she favoured him because she afterwards looked upon him in private as her successor : but what prince would chuse to be driven from the throne by his successor ?

While the French affairs were every day growing worse and worse, the king thought, that by sending the duke of Burgundy, his grandson, to head the army in Flanders, the presence of the heir presumptive to the crown would excite the emulation of the troops which began to droop. This prince was of a resolute and intrepid disposition, pious, just, and learned. He was formed to command wise men : he loved mankind, and endeavoured to make them happy. Though well versed in the art of war, he considered that art rather as the scourge of human kind, and an unhappy necessity, than the source of real glory. This philosophical prince was the person sent to oppose the duke of Marlborough, and they gave him the duke of Vendôme for an assistant. It now happened, as it too frequently does : the experienced officer was not sufficiently listened to, and the prince's council frequently carried it over the general's reasons. Hence arose two parties ; whereas in the enemy's army, there was but one, that of the public good. Prince Eugene was at that time on the Rhine ; but when he and Marlborough were together, they never had but one opinion.

The duke of Burgundy had the superiority in numbers : France, which Europe looked upon as exhausted, had furnished him with an army of one hundred thousand men ; and the allies at that time had not quite
eighty

eighty thousand. He had moreover the advantage of intelligence on his side, in a country which had been so long under the Spanish dominion, was tired out with Dutch garrisons, and where a great part of the inhabitants were inclined to favour Philip V. By his correspondence in Ghent and Ypres, he became master of these two places; but the schemes of the soldier soon rendered fruitless those of the politician. The disagreement in the council of war, already began to distract their operations; so that now they began to march towards the Dendre, and two hours afterwards turned back again towards the Scheld, to go to Oudenarde. In this manner did they lose time, while the Duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene were making the best of theirs, and acted in concert with each other.

The French were routed near Oudenarde. July 11, This was not a great battle *; but it proved 1708. a fatal retreat. Error was added to terror.

The regiments were suffered to wander at random without receiving any orders, and upwards of four thousand men were made prisoners on the road, by the enemy's army, a few miles distant only from the field of battle.

The army in despondency retreated without any order, part under Ghent, part under Tournay, and part under Ypres, and quietly suffered prince Eugene, now returned from the Rhine, to lay siege to Lisle with an inferior army.

To sit down before so large and well fortified a town as Lisle without being master of Ghent, obliged to send for provisions and ammunition as far as Ostend, and these to be brought over a narrow causeway at the hazard of being every moment surprised, was what Europe called a rash action; but which the misunderstanding and irresolutions that prevailed in the French army rendered very excusable, and was justified in the end by the success. The grand convoys, which might have been intercepted, arrived safe. The troops that escorted them, and which ought to have been defeated by

* If the night had not interposed, the whole French army would have been ruined.

by a superior number, proved victorious *. The duke of Burgundy's army, that might have attacked that of the enemy before it was complete, remained inactive; and Lisle was taken, to the astonishment of all Europe, who thought the duke of Burgundy rather in a condition to besiege Marlborough and Eugene, than those generals to besiege Lisle. Marshal Boufflers defended the place near four months.

The inhabitants became so familiar with the noise of cannon, and all the horror that attended a siege, that public diversions were carried on as frequent as in time of peace; and though a bomb one day fell very near the play-house, it did not interrupt the entertainment.

Marshal Boufflers had made such judicious dispositions, that the inhabitants of this great city remained perfectly secure in his vigilance. The defence he made gained him the esteem even of his enemies, the hearts of the inhabitants, and a reward from the king. Those Dutch historians, or rather writers, who affect to blame him, should remember, that to contradict the public voice, a person must have been a witness, and an intelligent one, or prove what he advances †.

In the mean time, the army that had looked on while Lisle was taken, began to diminish by little and little, and suffered Ghent to be taken next, and then Bruges, and all the posts one after another. Few campaigns have proved more fatal than this. The officers in the duke of Vendôme's interest laid all these faults to the duke of Burgundy's council, who retorted them back upon the duke of Vendôme. All minds were soured with misfortune. One of the duke of Burgundy's courtiers said one day to the duke de Vendôme, "Thus it is, never to go to mass; you see how misfortunes follow us." "Do you think then," replied the duke de Vendôme,

* Alluding to the battle of Wyrendale, in which major general Webb, with six thousand of the allies, defeated two and twenty thousand French, commanded by the count de la Motte.

† Of this nature is a history which a bookseller, called Vanduren, pretends to have been written by the Jesuit La Motte when concealed in Holland, under the name of La Hode, and continued by Martiniere; the whole founded only on the pretended memoirs of a count de - -, secretary of state.

Vendôme, "that Marlborough goes there oftener than we?" The emperor Joseph was puffed up with the rapid successes of the allied army; he saw himself absolute in the empire, master of Landau, and the road to Paris in a manner open, by the taking of Lisle. A party of Dutch soldiers had the boldness to advance as far as Versailles, from Courtrai, and carried off the king's first equerry from under the castle windows, thinking it had been the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy's father. Paris was filled with terror; and the emperor entertained as strong hopes of settling his brother Charles on the throne of Spain, as Lewis XIV. had to keep his grandson in possession of it.

This succession, which the Spaniards wanted to have rendered indivisible, was already split into three parts. The emperor had taken Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples to himself. His brother Charles was still in possession of Catalonia, and a part of Arragon. The emperor at that time obliged pope Clement XI. to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain. This pope, who was said to resemble St. Peter, because he owned, denied, repented and wept; had, after the example of his predecessor, acknowledged Philip V. and was attached to the house of Bourbon. The emperor, to punish him, declared several fiefs, which at that time were held from the popes, subject to the empire, particularly Parma and Placentia; laid waste several lands belonging to the holy see, and seized on the town of Commacchio. In former times, a pope would have excommunicated any emperor who had attempted to dispute with him the most trifling privileges; and that excommunication would have driven the emperor from his throne: but the power of this see was now reduced within its proper bounds. Clement XI. at the instigation of France had ventured to unsheath the sword for some short time; but he had no sooner taken up arms than he repented of it. He perceived that the Romans were incapable of wielding the sword under a sacerdotal government. He therefore laid down his arms, left Commacchio in the emperor's hands as a pledge of his future peaceable conduct, and consented to write to the archduke with the stile of "Our dearest son,

son, the catholic king in Spain." A fleet of English ships in the Mediterranean, and a German army in his dominions, soon made him glad to write, "To our dearest son Charles king of Spain." It was thought that this suffrage of the popes, though of no service in the German empire, might have some effect on the Spanish populace, who had been made to believe that the archduke was unworthy to reign, because he was protected by heretics, who had taken Gibraltar.

There yet remained to the Spanish monarchy beyond the continent, the two islands of Sardinia and Sicily; an English fleet had taken Sardinia, and given it to the emperor; for the English were not willing that the archduke should have any thing more than Spain. At that time they made treaties of petition with their arms. The conquest of Sicily they reserved for another time, chusing rather to employ their ships at sea in cruising for the Spanish galleons, some of whom they took, than in conquering new territories for the emperor.

France was now as much humbled as Rome, and more in danger; resources began to fail, credit was at a stand, and the people, who had idolized their monarch in his prosperity, began to murmur against him when unfortunate.

A set of men to whom the ministry had sold the nation for a little ready money to support the immediate call, grew fat on the public calamity, and insulted the sufferings of the people by their luxurious manner of living. The money they had advanced was spent; and had it not been for the bold industry of certain traders, particularly those of St. Malo, who made a voyage to Peru, and brought home thirty millions, half of which they lent to the government, Lewis XIV. would not have had money to pay his troops. The war had ruined the kingdom, and the merchants saved it: this was the case in Spain. The galleons, which had escaped being taken by the English, helped to support Philip V. but this resource, which was only of a few months duration, did not facilitate the raising of recruits. Chamillard, who had been made treasurer and secretary at war, resigned the latter post into the hands of M. Voisin, afterwards chancellor,

chancellor, who had formerly been an intendant on the frontiers. The armies were full as badly supplied as before, nor did merit meet with more encouragement. This *sire* Chamillard afterwards resigned the management of the treasury likewise; but Desmarets, who succeeded him in that post*, was not able to restore a ruined credit. The severe winter of 1709 completed the despair of the nation. The olive trees, which bring in a great deal of money in the south of France, were all destroyed; almost all the fruit trees were killed with the frost; there were no hopes of an harvest; and there was very little corn in the granaries; and what could be brought at a very great distance from the sea-port towns of the Levant, and the coast of Barbary, was liable to be taken by the enemy's fleets, to whom we had hardly any ships of war to oppose. The scourge of this dreadful winter was general all over Europe; but the enemies had more resources, especially the Dutch, who had been so long the factors for other nations, had magazines sufficiently stored to supply the strongest armies the allies could bring into the field, in a plentiful manner, while the French troops, diminished and disheartened, seemed ready to perish for want.

Lewis XIV. who had already made some advances towards a peace, determined under these fatal circumstances to send his chief minister, the marquis Torci Colbert, to the Hague, assisted by the president Rouillé. This was an humbling step. They first met at Antwerp, with two burgo-masters from Amsterdam, named Buis and Vanderhuffen, who talked in the stile of conquerors, and returned upon the ministers of the proudest of all princes all the arrogance with which they themselves had been treated in 1672.

The states-general had chosen no stadtholder since the death of king William; and the Dutch magistrates, who already began to call their families, 'The
partician

* The history of the jesuit de la Motte, cited by La Martiniere, says, that monsieur de Chamillard was removed from the treasury in 1703, and that marshal Harcourt was called by the public voice to succeed him. The blunders of this writer are out of number.

patrician families," were so many petty kings. The four Dutch commissaries, who attended the army, behaved with the utmost insolence to above thirty German princes, whom they maintained in their pay. "Send Holstein hither, said they; tell Hesse to come and speak to us." In this manner did a set of merchants express themselves, who, all plain in their garb, and abstemious in their way of living, took a pleasure in trampling upon German haughtiness in their pay, and mortifying the pride of a king who had formerly been their conqueror. They were not contented with shewing the world by these external marks of superiority, that power is the only real greatness. They likewise insisted upon having ten towns in Flanders given them up in sovereignty, and among others Lille, which was already in their hands; and Tournai, which was not yet taken. Thus the Dutch wanted to reap all the fruits of the war, not only at the expence of France, but at that of the house of Austria likewise, whose cause they had been fighting, in the same manner as the republic of Venice had formerly augmented its territories with those of its neighbours. The republican spirit is in the main full as ambitious as the monarchical.

This plainly appeared a few months afterwards; for when this shadow of negociation was vanished, and the allied army had gained some fresh advantages, the duke of Marlborough, at that time more absolute in England than his royal mistress having been gained over by the Dutch, concluded a treaty with the states-general in 1709, by which they were to keep possession of all the frontier towns which should be taken from the French; were to have garrisons in twenty fortresses in Flanders, to be maintained at the expence of the country, and to have Upper Guelders in perpetual sovereignty. By this treaty they would have become actual sovereigns of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, and have had the supreme rule in Liege and Cologne. In this manner did they want to aggrandize themselves by the ruin even of their allies. They were full of these lofty projects
when

when the chief minister of France came to them to ask for peace ; we must not therefore be surprised at the disdainful reception he met with.

After these first steps of humiliation, Lewis's minister went to the Hague, where he received in his master's name the last degree of insult. He there saw prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the pensionary Heinsius, who all three were for continuing the war. The prince, because it at once gratified his glory and his revenge ; Marlborough because he gained both reputation and immense riches, of which he was equally fond ; the third, who was guided by the other two, looked upon himself as a Spartan, humbling the pride of a Persian monarch. They proposed instead of peace a truce, and during that truce a full satisfaction for all their allies, without taking any notice of the king's, conditionally that the king should assist in driving his grandson from the throne of Spain, within two months ; and that as a surety for his performance of the treaty, he should begin by ceding to the states general, for ever, ten towns in Flanders, restore Straßburg and Brisac, and renounce the sovereignty of Alsace. Lewis little expected, some years before, when he refused a company of horse to Prince Eugene, when Churchill was only a colonel in the English army, and the name of Heinsius was hardly known, that one day these three men should impose such laws upon him. The marquis de Torcy took his leave without negotiating, and returned to carry the king the orders of his enemies. Lewis XIV. now did what he had never before done towards his subjects. He justified his conduct in a circular letter, which he addressed to them, in which, after acquainting his people with the farther burthens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to rouse their indignation, honour, and even pity. The politicians said that Torcy went to the Hague in that suppliant manner, only to throw the whole blame upon the enemy, to justify Lewis XIV. in the eyes of Europe, and animate the French to a just resentment ; but the fact is, that he went there purely to demand peace.

The

The president Rouillé was left some days at the Hague, to endeavour to get more favourable conditions ; but all the answer he received to his remonstrances, was an order from the states-general to depart Holland in twenty-four hours*.

Lewis XIV. when he heard the rigorous terms imposed upon him, said to Rouillé, " Well, then, since I must make war, I would rather it should be against my enemies than my children " He then made preparations to try his fortune once more in Flanders ; the famine, which had laid waste the countries round, proved a resource for the war ; those who wanted bread enlisted for soldiers. Many lands lay untilled ; but we had an army. Marshal Villars, who had been sent the preceding year into Savoy, to command a few troops, whose ardour was revived by his presence, and who had met with some little successes, was recalled into Flanders, as the person in whom his country placed all her hopes.

Marlborough had already taken Tournai ; and with prince Eugene, who had covered the siege, marched to invest Mons. Marshal Villars advanced to prevent them, having with him marshal Boufflers, a senior officer, but who had desired to serve under him. Boufflers had a true affection for his king and country ; he proved, on this occasion, (notwithstanding what has been said by a very sensible man) that there are virtues in a monarchical state, especially under a good master. There are doubtless as many as in a republic, with less enthusiasm perhaps, but with more of what is called honour.

As soon as the French advanced to oppose the investing of Mons, the allies, on their sides advanced to attack them near the wood of Blangies and the village of Malplaquet.

The two armies consisted of about eighty thousand men each ; but the allies had forty-two battalions more.

* Torci had actually agreed to preliminaries which Lewis rejected ; and it was in consequence of this rejection that Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four and twenty hours.

more. The French brought eighty pieces of cannon into the field. the allies one hundred and forty. The Duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, composed of the English and German troops in English pay ; prince Eugene was in the centre ; Tilli and the count of Nassau at the left, with the Dutch.

Marshal Villars took the command of the left wing of this army, and left the right to Sept. 11, marshal Boufflers ; he had entrenched his army in haste *, a method perhaps most suitable to his troops, that were inferior in number, and had been a long time unsuccessful, and consisted of one half recruits ; it was most suitable likewise to our condition at that time ; as an entire defeat would have intirely ruined the nation. Some historians have found fault with the disposition made by the marshal : " He ought (say they) to have passed a large hollow, instead of having it in his front." Is it not being rather too discerning to judge thus from our closet of what passes in a field of battle ?

All that I know is, the marshal himself said, that the soldiers, who had had no bread for a whole day and had just their allowance distributed among them, threw half of it away to make the greater haste to come to action. There has not been for many ages a longer or more obstinate battle ; none more bloody. I shall say nothing touching this action but what has been universally acknowledged. The enemies left wing, where the Dutch fought, was almost entirely cut to pieces ; and we pursued them with the bayonets at the end of the piece. Marlborough at the right made and withstood surprising efforts. Marshal Villars had occasion to thin his centre to oppose Marlborough ; at that very instant the centre was attacked, the entrenchments which covered it were carried, the regiment of guards who defended them making no resistance. The marshal in riding from his left wing to his

* Their camp was fortified with triple intrenchments ; and they were so fortified with lines, intrenchments, cannon and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible.

his centre, was wounded, and the day was lost; the field of battle was covered with the bodies of thirty thousand men, killed and dying.

The loss of the French in this battle did not amount to more than eight thousand men; the enemy left near twenty one thousand killed and wounded, but the centre being forced, and the two wings cut off, those who had made the greatest slaughter lost the day.

Marshal Boufflers* made a retreat in good order, with the assistance of the prince of Tingri-Monmorenci, afterwards marshal Luxembourg, inheritor of the valour of his ancestors. The army retired between Quenoi and Valenciennes, carrying with them several standards and colours they had taken from the enemy †. Lewis XIV. comforted himself with these spoils, and is was esteemed a victory to have disputed the day so long, and to have lost only the field of battle. Marshal Villars, at his return to court, assured the king, that if he had not been wounded, he should have gained the victory. I know the general himself was persuaded of this, but I know very few people besides who believe it.

It may seem surprising, that an army, which had killed the enemy near two-thirds more than it lost itself, should not endeavour to prevent those, who had gained no other advantage but that of lying in the midst of their dead, from going to lay siege to Mons. The Dutch were fearful for the success of this enterprise, and hesitated for some time; but the conquered are frequently imposed upon, and disheartened, by the name of having lost the battle. Men never do all that they might do, and the soldier, who is told he is beaten, fears to be beaten again. Thus Mons was

* In a book, intitled, *Memoirs of marshal Berwick*, it is said, that marshal Berwick made this retreat. In this manner are a number of memoirs written.

† The allies took above sixty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of prisoners.

was besieged and taken, and all for the Dutch, who kept possession of this town, Oct. 11, as they had done of Lille and Tournai. 1709.

C H A P. CLXXXV.

LEWIS XIV. continues to solicit peace, and to defend himself. The Duke of VENDOME secures the king of SPAIN on his throne.

THE enemy not only continued thus advancing by degrees, and levelled all the barriers of France on this side, but they pretended, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, to surprise Franche Compté, and penetrate at once by both ends to the heart of the kingdom. General Merci, who was charged with facilitating this enterprize, by entering into Upper Alsace by the city of Basil, was happily stopt near the isle of Newburg, on Aug 26, the Rhine, by the count, afterwards marshal 1709. Dubourg. By an unaccountable fatality, all those of the name of Merci have been as unsuccessful as esteemed. This was defeated in the completest manner. Nothing was undertaken on the side of Savoy, but much was apprehended in regard to Flanders; the domestic affairs of the kingdom were in so languid a state, that the king once more solicited peace like a suppliant; he offered to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain; to withdraw all assistance from his grandson, and leave him to his fate; to deliver up four places as securities; to restore Strasbourg and Brisac; to resign the sovereignty of Alsace, reserving only the prefecture; to demolish all the fortified places between Basil and Philipsbourg; to fill up the long formidable harbour of Dunkirk, and demolish its fortifications; and to leave Lille, Tournai, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, and Maubuge, in the hands of the states-general. These were in part the articles proposed, to serve as a basis for the peace which he solicited.

The allies, determined to have the triumph of discussing the submissive proposals of Lewis XIV. permitted his plenipotentiaries to come to the little town of

of Gertruydenberg, in the beginning of the year 1710, to present their master's supplications. Lewis made choice of marshal d'Uxelles, a man of great coolness and taciturnity, and of a disposition rather prudent than elevated or bold; with him was joined the abbé, afterwards cardinal Polignac, one of the brightest wits, and most eloquent orators of his age, and of a most engaging person and address; but wit, prudence, and eloquence, are of no service in a minister, when the master is unsuccessful. It is conquest that makes treaties. The ambassadors of Lewis XIV. were rather confined in Gertruydenberg than received there. The deputies came to hear their proposals, which they transmitted to the Hague to prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and count Zinzendorf, ambassador from the emperor. These proposals were almost always received with contempt. The plenipotentiaries were insulted by the most abusive libels, the work of French refugees, who were become more inveterate enemies to the glory of Lewis XIV. than even prince Eugene or the duke of Marlborough*.

Though the French plenipotentiaries carried their submission so far as to promise for the king, that he should furnish money to dethrone Philip V. they were not listened to. It was insisted upon as a preliminary, that Lewis XIV. should engage alone to drive his grandson out of Spain by force of arms. This absurd piece of inhumanity arose from fresh successes.

While the allies were thus treating Lewis XIV. like masters irritated against his pride and greatness, the city of Douay fell into their hands; and soon afterwards Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant; and lord Stair proposed to send parties to the gates of Paris.

Almost at the same time the archduke's army, commanded by Guy Starheimberg, the nearest in military reputation to prince Eugene of all the German generals, gained a complete victory near Saragossa †, over that army in which Philip

* And they had more reason so to be.

† The whole cavalry of Philip were defeated at Almenara, by the allied horse commanded by general Stanhope, who, with his

and his adherents had placed their hopes, and that was commanded by the marquis de Bay, an unfortunate general. Here again it was observed, that the two rival kings, though within reach of their armies, were not present at this battle. Of all the princes for whom Europe was then up in arms, the duke of Savoy was the only one who fought his own battles. It was a melancholy consideration that he could acquire his glory only by fighting against his two daughters, one of whom he endeavoured to dethrone, in order to gain a small spot of ground in Lombardy, about which the emperor Joseph already began to make some difficulties, and that he would have been stripped of the very first opportunity.

This emperor, who was successful every where, shewed no moderation in his good fortune. By his own pure authority he dismembered Bavaria, and bestowed the fiefs thereof on his relations and creatures. He despoiled the young duke of Mirandola of his dominions in Italy, and the princes of the empire maintained an army for him on the Rhine, without thinking that they were labouring to cement a power of which they stood in dread; so much did the old reigning hatred to the name of Lewis XIV. occupy every mind, as if their chief interest had been concerned therein. Joseph had likewise the good fortune to suppress the rebellious Hungarians. The court of France had set up prince Ragotski against him, who came armed with his own pretensions and those of his countrymen. Ragotski was beaten, his town taken, and his party ruined. Thus Lewis XIV. was equally unfortunate abroad and at home, by sea and by land, in his public negotiations and his private intrigues.

It was believed by all Europe at that time, that the archduke Charles, brother to the fortunate Joseph, would reign without a competitor in Spain. Europe

VOL. VI.

G

was

own hand, flew general Amiffa, commander of the Spanish guards. General Staremberg followed Philip's army to Saragossa, where they gave him battle on the ninth day of August, and were totally defeated.

was threatened with a power more formidable than that of Charles V. and the English, so long the declared foes of the Austrian-Spanish branch, and the Dutch, its revolted slaves, were those who exerted themselves to establish it. Philip V. who had taken refuge in Madrid, quitted it again, and retired to Valladolid, while the archduke Charles made his entry as a conqueror.

The French king could no longer supply his grandson with succours; he had been obliged to do that partly through necessity which the allies had exacted of him at Gertruydenberg, to abandon the cause of Philip, by sending for these troops that were yet in Spain for his own defence, being hardly able to make head against the powerful efforts of the enemy in Savoy, on the Rhine and in Flanders, where the stress of the war chiefly lay.

Spain was in a still more deplorable situation than France. Almost all its provinces had been laid waste by its enemies and friends. It was attacked by Portugal. Its trade was destroyed. There was a general dearth throughout the kingdom; but this indeed was more severely felt by the victors than by the vanquished, because the common people throughout this great country gave all their power to Philip, for whom they had an affection, and refused every thing to the Austrians. Philip had no longer a general or troops from France: the duke of Orleans, by whom his drooping fortune had been a little raised, instead of commanding his army was become his enemy. It is certain that notwithstanding the affection the inhabitants of Madrid had for Philip, and the fidelity of the grandees and all Castile, he had still a powerful party against him in Spain. The Catalonians, a warlike and headstrong nation, were, to a man, obstinately attached to his rival. One half of Arragon had likewise been gained over. One party of the people waited the event of affairs, and the other hated the archduke more than they loved Philip. The duke of Orleans, the namesake of Philip, disgusted with the Spanish ministry, and still more displeased with

with the princess Ursini, who governed affairs, began to think that he might secure for himself the country which he was sent to defend ; and when Lewis XIV. himself proposed to give up his grandson, and that an abdication was already talked of in Spain, the duke of Orleans thought himself worthy of filling the throne which Philip V. would be obliged to resign. He had some pretensions to that place which had been left unnoticed in the king of Spain's will, and which his father had supported by a protest.

By means of his agents he made an agreement with some of the *grandeos*, who engaged to place him on the throne, in case Philip V. should quit it. In this case, he would have found many of the Spaniards ready to list under the standard of a prince who was so complete a warrior. This scheme, had it succeeded, could not have displeased the maritime powers, as there would have been less apprehension of seeing the kingdoms of France and Spain united in one person, and fewer obstacles to the peace. The project was discovered at Madrid about the beginning of 1709, while the duke of Orleans was at Versailles, and his agents in Spain were imprisoned. Philip V. never forgave his cousin for thinking him capable of abdicating, and endeavouring to succeed him. In France the whole kingdom cried out against the duke of Orleans. The dauphin, father to Philip V. proposed in council to bring the offender to justice ; but the king chose rather to pass in silence this abortive and pardonable scheme, than to punish a nephew, at the time that a grandson was on the verge of ruin.

In fine, about the time of the battle of Saragossa, the Spanish council and most of the *grandeos*, finding they had no leader to oppose to Staremberg, whom they looked upon as a second Eugene, wrote in a body to Lewis XIV. requesting him to send them the duke de Vendôme. This prince, who had retired to Anet, set out immediately, and his presence was as good as an army. The Spaniards were struck with the great reputation he had gained in Italy, which the unfortu-

nate campaign of Lisle had not been able to impair. His affability, openness and liberality, which latter qualification he carried to a degree of profusion, and his love for his soldiers, won him all hearts; the moment he set his foot in Spain there happened to him what had formerly happened to Bertrand du Guesclin; his name alone drew a crowd of volunteers. He wanted money; the corporations of the towns and villages, and the religious communities, supplied him. The nation was seized with a spirit of enthusiasm. The scattered troops left after the battle of Saragossa

August, assembled together under him at Valladolid.

1710. Every place exerted itself in furnishing recruits. The duke de Vendôme, without allowing time for this fresh ardour to cool, goes in pursuit of the conquerors, brings the king back to Madrid, obliges the enemy to retire towards the frontiers of Portugal, follows them thither, makes his army

swim over the Tagus, takes general Stanhope

Dec. 9, prisoner in Brihuega with five thousand English, comes up with general Staremberg, at

Villa Viciosa, and gives him battle the next day. Philip V. who had not accompanied any of his former generals to the fight, animated with the duke of Vendôme's spirit, put himself at the head of the right wing, while that general took the left. A complete victory was gained over the enemy*, and, in less than four months time, this great general, who had been called in when things were at the last extremity, retrieved all, and secured the crown for ever on the head of Philip V.

While

• Stanhope was surprised, surrounded, and, after a very obstinate resistance, obliged to surrender himself and all his forces, amounting to two thousand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, and one brigadier. At Villa Viciosa, Staremberg fought against double his number. His left wing was utterly defeated; but with the remainder of his troops he maintained his ground till night, when the enemy retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field and all their artillery, after having lost above six thousand men, who were killed on the spot. Staremberg had suffered so much in the battle, that he could not pretend to maintain his ground any longer; he therefore ordered their cannon to be nailed up, and retired to Catalonia.

While the allies remained confounded at this surprising revolution, one of a more secret kind, though equally important, was preparing in England.

Sarah Jennings, duchess of Marlborough, governed queen Anne, and the duke her husband, governed the state. He had the treasury at his command, through the means of the lord high treasurer Godolphin, whose son had married one of his daughters. His son-in-law, Sunderland, who was secretary of state, submitted every thing in the cabinet to him, and the queen's household, where his wife had an unlimited authority, was at his devotion. He was master of the army, while he had the disposal of all posts.

England was at that time divided between two parties, the whigs and the tories. The whigs, at whose head he was, did every thing that could contribute to his greatness; and the tories had been forced to admire him in silence. It is not unworthy of history to add, that the duke and duchess were the two handsomest persons of their time; and that this advantage contributes not a little to impose upon the multitude, when accompanied with dignities and honour.

The duke had more interest at the Hague than the pensionary: and had great influence in Germany, had always been successful as a negotiator and general, and enjoyed a more extensive share of power and reputation, than had ever been the lot of any one private man. He could likewise strengthen his power by the immense riches he had acquired during his having the command. I have heard his widow say, that, after he had given fortunes to his four children, he had remaining, independent of any gifts from the crown, seventy thousand pounds *per ann.* clear money, which makes about one million five hundred thousand of our livres. Had not his frugality been equal to his greatness, he might have formed a party in the kingdom that queen Anne could not easily have overthrown; and had his wife been a little more complaisant, the queen would never have broke her chains. But the duke could never get the better of his thirst for riches, nor the duchess of her capricious temper. The queen loved her with a tenderness

derness that went even to submission, and a giving up of all will. In attachments of this nature, we generally find that dislike begins first on the side of the monarch: caprice, pride, and an abuse of superiority, are the things which first make the yoke felt, and all these the duchess of Marlborough heaped upon her mistress with a heavy hand. The queen, who could not want a favourite, turned her eyes upon lady Marham, one of the ladies of her bed-chamber. The duchess could not conceal her jealousy; it broke out on a thousand occasions. A pair of gloves of a particular fashion which she refused the queen, and a jar of water that she let fall in her presence upon lady Marham's gown, by an affected mistake, changed the face of affairs in Europe. Matters grew warm between the two parties. The new favourite's brother asked the duke for a regiment; the duke refused it, upon which the queen gave it him herself. The tories laid hold of this conjuncture to free the queen from her domestic slavery, humble the power of the duke, change the ministry, make peace, and if possible replace the Stewart family on the throne of England*. If the disposition of the duchess would have allowed her to make some concessions, she might still have retained her power. The queen and she had been used to write to each other every day, under borrowed names: this mysterious familiarity always left the way open for a reconciliation; but the duchess made use of this resource only to make things worse. She wrote to the queen in the most insolent terms; and, among other expressions, made use of the following; "Do me justice, and make me no answer." She soon repented of what she had done, and went to ask pardon of the queen with tears in her eyes; but her majesty

* We can affirm, on the very best authority, that the tories never harboured any such design. There might indeed be some Jacobites among them, who secretly entertained notions of that kind; but these they carefully concealed from the party with which they associated. Some too were driven into jacobitism by hard usage; but the tories in general had no intention to alter that succession which they themselves established.

majesty made her only this reply ; " You have ordered me not to answer you, and I shall not answer you." After this the breach was irreparable ; the duchess appeared no more at court, and some time afterwards Sunderland, the duke's son-in-law, was removed from the ministry, as the first step towards turning out Godolphin, and then the duke himself. In other kingdoms this is called a disgrace ; in England it is only a change of affairs ; but this was a change very difficult to be brought about. The tories, tho' masters of the queen, were not of the kingdom ; they found themselves obliged to have recourse to religion. At present there is little more religion in Great Britain than what is just sufficient to distinguish factions. The whigs inclined to presbyterianism. This was the faction that had dethroned James II. persecuted Charles II. and brought Charles I. to the block. The tories were in the episcopal interest, that favoured the house of Stuart, and wanted to introduce the doctrine of passive obedience to kings, because the bishops hoped by that means to have more obedience paid to themselves. A clergyman was procured to preach up this doctrine in St. Paul's cathedral, and to set forth, in the most odious light, the administration of the duke of Marlborough and the measures of the party who had given the crown to king William ; but notwithstanding the queen secretly favoured this preacher, she could not prevent his being silenced for three years by the two houses assembled in Westminster-hall, who ordered his sermon to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. She felt her want of power still more sensibly, in not daring to indulge the calls of blood in opening a way for her brother to that throne which the whigs had barred against him. Those writers who say that Marlborough and his party fell the instant the queen ceased to support them with her favour, knew nothing of the affairs of England. The queen, though now desirous of peace, did not dare to remove Marlborough from the command of her armies ; and, in the spring of 1711, he was still pursuing his conquests over France, though

in disgrace at his own court. A private agent for France was sent to London, to propose conditions of peace underhand ; but the queen's new ministry did not dare to accept them as yet.

A new event, as unforeseen as the others, completed this great work. The emperor Joseph died, April 17, and left the dominions of the house of Austria, 1711. and the German empire, together with the pretensions to Spain and America, to his brother Charles, who was elected emperor some months afterwards.

On the first news of his death, the prejudices which had put arms into the hands of so many nations, began to be dissipated in England by the care of the new ministry. The war, said they, was begun to prevent Lewis XIV. from governing Spain, America, Lombardy, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in the name of his grandson ; why then should we endeavour to unite all these kingdoms in the family of Charles VI? Why must the English nation exhaust its treasures? We have paid more to the war than Germany and Holland together. The expences of this year alone amount to seven millions sterling ; and is the nation to ruin itself for a cause it has no concern with, and to procure a part of Flanders for the Dutch, our rivals in trade? All these arguments emboldened the queen, and opened the eyes of a great part of the nation, and a new parliament being called, the queen was at liberty to prepare matters for the peace of Europe.

But though she might do this privately, she could not as yet publicly break with her allies ; so that while they were negotiating in the cabinet, Marlborough was carrying on the service in the field. He still continued advancing in Flanders, where he forced the lines that Marshal Villars had drawn from Montreuil to

Sept. Valenciennes, took Bouchain, advanced as far
1711. as Quesnoi, and from thence was proceeding towards Paris, which had not a single rampart to oppose him.

It was at this unfortunate period that the famous Dugué-trouin, who had not as yet any rank in the sea service, and owed every thing to himself, by his own courage, and the assistance of some merchants who furnished him with money, fitted out a small fleet, and sailed to the Brasils, where Sept. and he took one of the principal cities called Oct. 1711. St. Sebastian de Rio Janeiro. He and his crew returned home loaded with riches, and the Portuguese lost even more than he had gained ; but the mischief that he had done in the Brasils did not alleviate the miseries of France.

C H A P. CLXXXVI.

Victory gained by Marshal VILLARS at DENAIN.
The Affairs of FRANCE retrieved. The general Peace.

THE negotiations which were now openly set on foot in London, proved more salutary. The queen sent the earl of Strafford ambassador to Holland, to communicate to the states the proposals made by Lewis XIV. Marlborough's leave was no longer asked. The earl of Strafford obliged the Dutch to name plenipotentiaries, and to receive those of France.

Three private persons still continued to oppose the peace ; these were Marlborough, prince Eugene, and Heinsius, who persisted in their intention of crushing Lewis XIV. but when the English general returned to London, at the close of the campaign in 1711, he was deprived of all his employments ; he found a new house of commons, and had no longer the majority in the house of lords. The queen, by creating a number of new peers, had weakened the duke's party and strengthened the crown interest. He was now accused, like Scipio, of malversation ; and, like that hero, extricated himself by his reputation and by retiring. He was still powerful though in disgrace. Prince Eugene himself

himself came over to London, on purpose to strengthen his party. This prince met with the reception due to his birth and reputation, but his proposals were rejected. The court interest prevailed, prince Eugene returned to end the war alone, with the fresh incentive of a prospect of victory, without a companion to divide the honour.

While the congress was assembling at Utrecht, and the French plenipotentiaries, who had been so ill used at Gertruydenberg, now returned to treat upon more equal terms, marshal Villars lay behind his lines to cover Arras and Cambray. Prince Eugene took the town of Quesnoy, and overspread the country with an army of a hundred thousand men. The Dutch had exerted themselves; and though they had never before furnished their whole quota towards the necessary expences of the war, they had this year exceeded their contingent. Queen Anne could not as yet openly disengage herself from them; she had sent the duke of Ormond to join prince Eugene's army with twelve thousand English, and still kept in pay a number of German troops. Prince Eugene, after burning the suburbs of Arras, advanced towards the French army, and proposed to the duke of Ormond to give them battle; but the English general had been sent with orders not to fight. The private negotiations between England and France drew towards a conclusion: a suspension of arms was proclaimed between the two crowns. Lewis XIV. put Dunkirk into the hands of the English, as a security for the performance of his engagements. The duke of Ormond then retired towards Ghent: he endeavoured to take with him the troops that were in the queen's pay; but none would follow him except four squadrons of the regiment of Holstein, and one regiment of Liege. The troops of Brandenburg, Saxony, Hesse, and Denmark, remained with prince Eugene, and were paid by the Dutch. The elector of Hanover himself, who was to succeed queen Anne on the throne of England, notwithstanding her remonstrances, continued his troops in the pay of the allies, which plainly shewed, that the pretensions of
his

his family to the crown of England did not depend upon queen Anne's favour.

Prince Eugene, though deprived of the assistance of the English, was still superior by twenty thousand men to the French army; he was likewise superior by his position, by the great plenty of magazines, and by nine years of continued victories.

Marshal Villars could not prevent him from laying siege to Landrecy. France, exhausted of men and money, was in consternation, and people placed no great dependence on the conferences at Utrecht, which might be all overthrown by the successes of prince Eugene. Several considerable detachments had already entered Champagne and ravaged the country, and advanced as far as the gates of Rheims.

The alarm was now as great at Versailles as in the rest of the kingdom. The death of the king's only son, which fell out this year, the duke of Burgundy, the duchess his wife, and their eldest son, all carried to their graves the same day, and the only remaining child at the point of death; all these domestic misfortunes, added to those from without, and the sufferings of the people, made the close of Lewis XIV's reign considered as a time pointed out for calamities, and every one expected to see more disasters than they had formerly seen greatness and glory.

Precisely at this period, the duke de Vendôme died in Spain. The general dispiritedness which seized upon the French nation on this occasion, of which I remember to have been myself a witness, filled them with apprehensions, lest Spain, which had been supported by the duke de Vendôme, should fall with him.

As Landrecy could not hold out long, it was debated at Versailles, whether the king should retire to Chambord. On this occasion he told the marshal d'Harcourt, that in case of any fresh misfortune, he would assemble the nobility of his kingdom, lead them in person against the enemy, notwithstanding he was now upwards of seventy, and die fighting at their head.

A fault committed by prince Eugene delivered the king and kingdom from these dreadful inquietudes. It is said, that his lines were too much extended ; that his magazines at Marchiennes were at too great a distance ; and that general Albemarle, who was posted between Denain and the prince's camp, was not within reach of assisting him soon enough, in case he was attacked. I have been assured, that a beautiful Italian lady, whom I saw some time afterwards at the Hague, and whom prince Eugene then kept, lived in Marchiennes, and that it was on her account that this was made a place for magazines. It is doing injustice to prince Eugene, to suppose that a woman could have any share in his military arrangements ; but when we know that a curate, and a counsellor of Douay, named le Fevre d'Orval, walking together in those quarters, first conceived the idea that Denain and Marchiennes might easily be attacked ; this will better serve to prove, by what secret and weak springs the greatest affairs of this world are often directed. Le Fevre communicated his notion to the intendant of the province, and he to marshal Montesquieu, who commanded under marshal Villars ; the general approved of the scheme, and put it into execution. To this action, in fact, France owed her safety more than to the peace she made with England. Marshal Villars put a deceit upon prince Eugene ; a body of dragoons was ordered to advance in sight of the enemy's camp, as if going to attack it ; and while these dragoons retired towards

July 24, Guise, the marshal marched towards Denain
1712. with his army drawn up in five columns, forced general Albemarle's intrenchments, defended by seventeen battalions, who were all killed or made prisoners. The general himself surrendered prisoner of war, with two princes of the house of Nassau, the prince of Holstein, the prince of Anhalt, and all the officers of the detachment. Prince Eugene marched in haste to their assistance, but did not come up till the action was over ; and, in endeavouring to get possession of a bridge that led to Denain, he lost a number

ber of his men, and was obliged to return to his camp, after having been witness of his defeat.

All the posts along the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, were carried, one after another, with the utmost rapidity; the army then pushed directly for Marchiennes, which was defended by four thousand men; the siege was carried on with the greatest vigour, and in three days time the garrison were made prisoners of war; all the ammunition and provisions that the enemy had laid up for the whole campaign, July 30, fell into our hands. The superiority was 1712. now wholly on the side of marshal Villars; the enemy discouraged, raised the siege of Landrecy, and soon afterwards saw Douay, Quénnoi, and Bouchain, retaken by our troops. Sept. and The frontiers were now in safety. Prince Oct. 1712. Eugene drew off his army, after having lost near fifty battalions, forty of whom were made prisoners between the fight of Denain and the end of the campaign. The most signal victory could not have produced greater advantages.

Had marshal Villars been possessed of the same share of popular favour with some other generals, he would have been publicly called the restorer of France, instead of which they hardly acknowledged the obligations they had to him, and envy prevailed over the public joy for this unexpected success.

Every step of marshal de Villars hastened the peace of Utrecht; queen Anne's ministry, as answerable to their country and to Europe for their actions, neglected nothing that concerned the interest of England and its allies, and the safety of the public weal. In the first place they insisted that Philip V. now settled on the throne of Spain, should renounce his right to the crown of France, which he had hitherto constantly maintained; and that the duke of Berry, his brother, presumptive heir to that crown, after the only remaining great grandson of Lewis XIV. then at the point of death, should likewise renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, in case he should come to be king of France. They likewise exacted the same on the part of

of the duke of Orleans. The late twelve years war had shewn how little men are to be bound by such acts ; there is no one known law that obliges the descendants of a prince to give up their right to a throne because their father may have renounced it. These renunciations are of no effect, except when the common interest is in concert with them ; but however, they served to calm, for the present, a twelve years storm ; and it is probable, that one day, several nations may join to support these renunciations that are now the basis of the balance of power, and the tranquillity of Europe.

By this treaty the island of Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king, and on the continent the town of Fenestrelles, Exilles, with the valley of Pragilas ; so that they took from the house of Bourbon to aggrandize him.

The Dutch had a considerable barrier given them, which they had always been aiming at ; and if the house of Bourbon was despoiled of some territories in favour of the duke of Savoy, the house of Austria was, on the other hand, stript to satisfy the Dutch, who were become at its expence the guarantees and masters of the strongest cities of Flanders. Due regard was paid to the interest of the Dutch with respect to trade ; and there was an article stipulated likewise in favour of the Portuguese.

The sovereignty of the ten provinces of the Spanish Netherlands was reserved for the emperor, together with the advantageous lordship of the barrier towns. They likewise guarantied to him the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with all his possessions in Lombardy, and the four ports on the coast of Tuscany. But the court of Vienna would not subscribe to these conditions, as thinking she had not sufficient justice done her.

As to England, her glory and interest were sufficiently secured. She had obtained the demolition of the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk, which had been the object of so much jealousy. She was left in possession of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca by Spain. France ceded to her Hudson's bay, the island of Newfoundland,

foundland, and Acadia ; and she procured greater privileges for her American trade than had been granted even to the French, who placed Philip V. on the throne. We must likewise reckon among the glorious acts of the English ministry, its having engaged Lewis XIV. to consent to set at liberty those of his subjects who were confined in prison on account of their religion ; this was dictating laws, but laws of a very respectable nature.

Lastly, queen Anne, sacrificing the rights of blood, and the secret inclinations of her heart, to the desires of her country, secured the succession to the crown of Great Britain to the house of Hanover.

As to the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the former was to keep the duchy of Luxembourg and the county of Namur till his brother and himself should be restored to their electorates ; for Spain had ceded those two sovereignties to the elector of Bavaria, as a consideration for his losses, and the allies had taken neither of them during the war.

For France, who demolished Dunkirk, and gave up so many places in Flanders that her arms had formerly conquered, and that had been secured to her by the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryfwick, she got back Lille, Aire, Bethune, and Saint-Venant.

Thus did the English ministry to all appearance do justice to every one ; but this was denied them by the Whigs ; and one half of the nation reviled the memory of queen Anne, for having done the greatest good that a sovereign possibly could do, in giving peace to so many nations. She was reproached with not having dismembered France, when it was in her power to do it.

All these treaties were signed, one after another, in the course of the year 1713 ; but whether it was owing to the obstinacy of prince Eugene, or to the bad politics of the emperor's council, that monarch did not enter into any of these negotiations. He would certainly have had Landau, and perhaps Strasbourg, had he at first fallen in with the views of queen Anne and her ministry ; but he was bent upon continuing the war, and so got nothing.

Marshall

Marshal Villars having secured the rest of French Flanders, marched towards the Rhine, and, after making himself master of Spire, Worms, and
 Aug. 20. all the circumjacent country, he took Landau, which the emperor might have had by
 1713. acceding to the peace, forced the lines that
 Sept. 20. prince Eugene had ordered to be drawn from Brisgau, defeated marshal Vaubonne, who
 Oct. 30. defended those lines; and lastly, besieged and took Friburg, the capital of Upper Austria.

The council of Vienna pressed the circles of the empire to send the succours they had promised, but no succours came. They now began to be sensible that the emperor, without the assistance of England and Holland, could never prevail against France, and resolved upon peace when it was too late.

Marshal Villars, after having thus put an end to the war, had the additional honour of concluding the peace with prince Eugene, at Rastad. This was perhaps the first time that two generals of opposite parties had been known to meet together at the close of a campaign, to treat in the names of their masters. They both brought with them that openness of character for which they were distinguished. I have heard marshal Villars relate, that one of the first things he said to prince Eugene was this: "Sir, we do not meet as enemies; your enemies are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles." And in fact both of them had always cabals to combat at their respective courts.

There was no notice taken in this treaty of the pretensions which the emperor still maintained to the Spanish monarchy, nor of the empty title of Catholic King, that he continued to bear after Philip V. was in quiet possession of the kingdom. Lewis XIV. kept Strasbourg and Landau, which he had before offered to give up, Huninguen, and new Brisac, which he had proposed to demolish, and the sovereignty of Alsace, which he had offered to renounce. But what was still more honourable for him, he procured the electors of Cologne and Bavaria to be reinstated in their ranks and dominions.

It is a very remarkable circumstance that France, in all her treaties with the emperors, has constantly protected the rights of the princes and states of the empire. She laid the foundation of the Germanic liberties by the peace of Munster; and caused an eighth electorate to be erected in favour of this very house of Bavaria. The treaty of Westphalia was confirmed by that of Nimeguen. By the treaty of Ryswick she procured all the estate of cardinal Furstemberg to be restored to him. Lastly, by this peace of Utrecht, she obtained the re-establishment of the two electors. It must be acknowledged, that throughout the whole negotiation, which put an end to this long quarrel, France received laws from England, and imposed them on the empire.

The historical memoirs of those times, from which so many histories of Lewis XIV. have been compiled, say that prince Eugene, when he had finished the conferences, desired the duke de Villars to embrace the knees of Lewis XIV. for him, and to present that monarch, in his name, with assurances of the most profound respect of "A subject towards his sovereign." In the first place, it is not true, that a prince, the grandson of a sovereign, can be the subject of another prince, because he was born in his dominions; and in the second place, it is still less so that prince Eugene, vicar-general of the empire, could call himself the subject of the king of France.

And now each state took possession of its new rights. The duke of Savoy got himself acknowledged in Sicily, without consulting the emperor, who complained of it in vain. Lewis XIV. procured entrance for his troops into Lisse, the Dutch seized on their barrier towns, and the states of the country gave them one million two hundred and fifty thousand florins per ann. to continue masters in Flanders. Lewis XIV. filled up the harbour of Dunkirk, razed the citadel, and demolished the fortifications towards the sea, in presence of the English commissary. The inhabitants, who saw their whole trade ruined thereby, sent a deputation over

to

to London to implore the clemency of queen Anne. It was a mortifying circumstance to Lewis XIV. that his subjects should go to ask favours of a queen of England ; but it was still more melancholy for these poor people to meet with a refusal from the queen.

The king, some time afterwards, enlarged the canal of Mardyke, and by means of sluices formed an harbour there, which was thought already to equal that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, ambassador from England, complained of this in warm terms to the king. It is said in one of the best books we have, that Lewis XIV. made him this reply : " My Lord, I have always been master in my own kingdom, sometimes in those of others : do not put me in remembrance of it." I know of my own certain knowledge, that Lewis XIV. never made so improper a reply ; he was far from ever having been master in England : he was indeed master in his own kingdom ; but the point in question was, whether he was master of eluding a treaty to which he owed his repose, and perhaps the greatest part of his kingdom. This however is true, that he put a stop to the works of Mardyke, and thus yielded to the remonstrances of the ambassador, instead of braving them. The works of the canal of Mardyke were demolished soon afterwards during the regency, and the treaty accomplished in every point.

Notwithstanding the peace of Utrecht and Rastard, Philip V. was not yet in possession of all Spain : he had still Catalonia to conquer, and the islands of Majorca and Ivica.

It is necessary to know, that the emperor Charles having left his wife at Barcelona, and finding himself unable to carry on a war in Spain, and yet unwilling to give up his claim, or accept of the peace of Utrecht, had nevertheless made an agreement with queen Anne for a squadron of English ships to bring away the empress and the troops, now useless in Catalonia. In fact, Catalonia had been already evacuated ; and Staremberg, when he quitted that province, had resigned his title of viceroy ; but he left behind him all the seeds of
a civil

a civil war, with the hopes of a speedy succour on the part of the emperor and the queen of England. Those who had the most credit in that province, imagined that they might be able to form a republic under a foreign protection; and that the king of Spain would not be strong enough to subdue them. On this occasion, they displayed that character which Tacitus gave them so long since, who calls them, "An intrepid people, that count their lives for nothing when not employed in fighting."

If they had made half the efforts for Philip V. their king, as they then did against him, the archduke would never have disputed Spain. By the obstinate resistance they made, they proved that Philip, though delivered from his competitor, was not able to reduce them by his own power. Lewis XIV. who during the latter part of the war had not been able to assist his grandson with either ships or soldiers, against his rival, Charles, now sent him succours against his rebellious subjects. A fleet of French ships blocked up the harbour of Barcelona, and marshal Berwick laid siege to it by land.

The queen of England, faithful to her treaty, would not assist this city. The emperor made a vain promise of succours. The besieged defended themselves with a courage that was fortified by fanaticism. The priests and monks ran to arms, and mounted the trenches, as if it had been a religious war. A phantom of liberty rendered them deaf to all the advances made to them by their master. Upwards of five hundred ecclesiastics died during this siege, with their arms in their hands: we may judge whether by their speeches and examples they helped to animate the people.

They hung out a black ensign upon the breach and stood several assaults; at length the besiegers having made their way into the town, the besieged disputed street after street; and having retreated into the new town, after the old one was taken, they offered to capitulate on condition of being allowed all their privileges; but they only obtained their lives and estates.

Most

Most part of their privileges were taken from them. Sixty monks were condemned to the gallies, and this was the only vengeance taken by the conquerors. Philip V. had, during the war, treated the little town of Xativa much more severely, by ordering it to be razed from the foundation as an example; but though he might do this to a town of no importance, he would not destroy a large city that had a fine sea-port and was of use to the state.

This fury of the Catalans, that had not exerted itself while Charles VI. was among them, and which transported them to such extremes when they were left without assistance, was the last spark of that flame which had been lighted up by the will of Charles II. king of Spain, and had so long laid waste the most beautiful part of Europe.

T H E
MODERN HISTORY
CONTINUED.

C H A P. CLXXXVII.

A general View of EUROPE, from the Peace of
UTRECHT to the Year 1756.

I Must still venture to call this long war a civil war. The duke of Savoy was in arms against his two daughters. The prince of Vaudemont, who sided with the archduke Charles, was on the point of taking his own father prisoner in Lombardy, who espoused the cause of Philip V. Spain was actually divided into factions; whole regiments of French protestants served against their own country. Lastly, it was on account of a succession between relations, that a general war was begun; and it may be added, that the queen of England excluded her own brother from the throne, who was protected by Lewis XIV. and was even obliged to set a price upon his head.

Human hopes and prudence were deceived in this war, as they almost always are. Charles VI. though twice proclaimed in Madrid, was driven out of Spain. Lewis XIV. when just ready to sink, was raised again by the unforeseen divisions in England. The Spanish council, whose only motive for calling the duke of Anjou to the crown had been to prevent the monarchy from being ever dismembered, saw several of its
parts

parts lopt off. Austria had Lombardy and Flanders; of which latter the house of Prussia had one small part, the Dutch another, and the French had possession of a fourth part. Thus the inheritance of the house of Bourbon was divided between four powers, while that which seemed to have the most right to it did not even possess a single farm. The emperor was for some time in possession of the island of Sardinia, which was of no use to him, and of the kingdom of Naples, that great hief of Rome, of which its owners are so frequently and easily dispossessed. The duke of Savoy held Sicily for four years; but to no other purpose than to maintain against the pope that singular but ancient privilege of being pope himself in that island; that is to say, absolute master in matters of religion, doctrinal points excepted.

The vanity of politics appeared more obvious after the peace than even during the war. It will not admit of a doubt that queen Anne's ministry had an intention of secretly preparing the way for the restoration of James II*. The queen herself began to listen to the

* Certainly the Whigs taxed them with such a design; though, with all their industry, they never could adduce one proof to justify the charge. It is well known that at this period, the ministry was divided in itself, and that both Oxford and Bolingbroke took all the methods in their power to recommend themselves to the elector of Hanover and the Duke of Marlborough. The queen repeated again and again in parliament, her inviolable attachment to the protestant succession, which both houses voted to be out of danger. Oxford made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party, and took particular opportunities of assuring the elector of his attachment to the house of Hanover. Lord Bolingbroke proposed a bill, denouncing the penalties of high treason against those who should list or be enlisted in the pretender's service; the motion was approved, and the bill passed into a law. The same lord carried on a secret correspondence with the duke of Marlborough; and it was from this quarter, that, after the accession of George I. he received timely intimation, that a design was formed to bring him to the block. If we allow this ministry had any regard to their own safety, we cannot suppose they would harbour and seek to promote a design so repugnant to the inclinations of the people.

the voice of nature in that of her ministers, and designed to leave the succession to her brother, whom she had been compelled to proscribe against her will: but death prevented all these designs. The house of Hannover, whom she looked upon as foreigners, and did not love, succeeded her. Her ministers were persecuted; and the pretender's party having endeavoured to assert his right in 1715, was defeated*. And this rebellion, which, had the queen lived a little longer, would have been called a lawful revolution, was punished by the blood of many shed upon the scaffold.

Affairs took a very different turn in France after the death of Lewis XIV. It would have been too tedious, too difficult, and too hazardous, to assemble the states of the kingdom in order to adjust the various pretensions to the regency. The parliament of Paris had before conferred it upon two queens; at this time they bestowed it upon the duke of Orleans. They had in past ages declared void the will of Lewis XIII. upon the present occasion they, in like manner, set aside that of Lewis XIV. Thus was Philip, duke of Orleans, grandson of France, proclaimed absolute master, by the same parliament which shortly after sent him into banishment.

That it may the more fully appear what a blind fatality presides over the affairs of this world, it is proper to observe, that the Ottoman empire, which might have fallen upon the empire of Germany, during the long war of 1701, waited till the conclusion of the general peace, in order to wage war with the Christians. The Turks in 1715, with ease possessed themselves of Peloponnesus, which the renowned Morosini, surnamed Peloponnesiacus, had taken from them about the close of the seventeenth century, and which had been ceded to the Venetians by the peace of Carlowitz. The emperor, who guaranteed that peace, was under a necessity of declaring against the Turks. Prince Eugene, who had before defeated them at Zenta,

* At Preston by general Willis, and on the same day at Dunblaine by the duke of Argyll.

Zenta, passed the Danube, and near Peterwaradin engaged the grand vizir Ali, favourite of the sultan Ahmet III. over whom he gained a signal victory.

Though particular facts do not properly enter into a general plan. I cannot avoid mentioning in this place the action of a Frenchman, famous for his extraordinary adventures. The count de Bonneval, who had quitted the service of France on account of some disgust received from the ministry, being then major-general under prince Eugene, was in that battle surrounded by a numerous body of janissaries; he was accompanied by no more than two hundred soldiers of his own regiment: he made a stand during a whole hour, and being at last stunned by the stroke of a lance, his ten remaining soldiers carried him to the victorious army. This very man, who had been proscribed in France, came afterwards to Paris, and was there publicly married, and a few years after he assumed the turban at Constantinople, where he died invested with the dignity of bashaw.

The grand vizir Ali was mortally wounded in this battle. The manners of the Turks were at this time rough and barbarous: this vizir caused a general of the emperor's *, who was his prisoner, to be butchered, just before he expired.

The year following, prince Eugene laid siege to Belgrade, the garrison of which consisted of near fifteen thousand men: he soon found himself besieged by a numerous army of Turks, who advanced against his camp, and surrounded it with trenches: he was in a situation entirely similar to that of Cæsar at Alexia, and like Cæsar he extricated himself from the difficulty: he routed the enemy, and took the town: his whole army was upon the point of perishing; but military discipline triumphed at once over both force and multitudes.

This prince was raised to the most exalted pitch of glory by the peace of Passarowitz, by which Belgrade and

* His name was Breuner.

and Temiswar were ceded to the emperor ; but the Venetians, upon whose account the war had been undertaken, were abandoned, and lost all Greece irrecoverably.

The face of affairs underwent a change as considerable amongst the princes of Christendom. The good understanding and union that had subsisted between France and Spain, been so much dreaded, and alarmed so many states, was dissolved as soon as Lewis XIV. had breathed his last. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, though irreproachable in his conduct to his ward, took measures as if he was to succeed to the crown. He entered into a close alliance with England, reputed the natural enemy of France, and came to an open rupture with the branch of the house of Bourbon which reigned at Madrid ; and Philip V. who had renounced the crown of France by the articles of peace, fomented, or rather lent his name to others to foment sedition in France, by means of which he might procure the regency in a country where he could not hope to reign. Thus, after the death of Lewis XIV. there happened a revolution in the views, negociations, and policy, as well as those of his own family, as of the other princes of Europe.

Cardinal Alberoni, prime minister of Spain, formed a design to make a change in the affairs of Europe, and was upon the point of putting his project into execution. He had in a few years re-established the finances and forces of the Spanish monarchy ; he formed a design of re-uniting it to Sardinia, which at that time belonged to the emperor ; and Sicily, which the dukes of Savoy had been possessed of ever since the peace of Utrecht. He proposed changing the constitution of England, in order to prevent it from making any opposition to his enterprizes ; and with the same view he was desirous of kindling a civil war in France. He, at the same time, carried on negociations with the Ottoman Porte, with the czar Peter the Great, and with Charles XII. He was very near engaging the Turks to renew the war against the emperor ; and Charles XII.

in conjunction with the czar, was himself to accompany the pretender to England, and to replace him upon the throne of his ancestors.

In the mean time the cardinal stirred up an insurrection in Bretagne, and even then found means secretly to convey into the kingdom a body of troops disguised like falconers, led by one Colinceri, who had orders to join the revolted. The conspiracy of the duchess of Maine, the cardinal de Polignac, and many more, was just going to break out : their design was to spirit away the duke of Orleans, to deprive him of the regency, and to confer it upon Philip V. king of Spain. Thus cardinal Alberoni, formerly a country curate in the neighbourhood of Parma, was in a fair way of becoming first minister of Spain and France, and governing all Europe.

An unforeseen accident made all these vast projects vanish into air ; the conspiracy was discovered at Paris by a common courtesan, and being once made public, to carry it into execution was impracticable. The king of Sweden, who was to have placed the pretender upon the throne of England, was killed in Norway. Notwithstanding this, some of Alberoni's projects began to take effect, so many secret springs had he put in motion. The fleet which he had fitted out made a descent upon Sardinia in the year 1717. and in a few days made it submit to the yoke of Spain ; soon after, it reduced almost all Sicily, in the year 1718.

But Alberoni not having been able to prevent the Turks from concluding a peace with the emperor Charles VI. nor to stir up civil wars in France and England, saw the emperor, the regent, and king George I. at once united against him. The duke of Orleans, assisted by the English, made an attack upon Spain ; so that Lewis XV's first war was against his uncle, whom Lewis XIV. had established upon the throne, at the expence of so much blood. An English fleet defeated that of Spain not far from Messina * ;

* The English Squadron was commanded by admiral Byng, who on the eleventh day of August, took or destroyed the whole Spanish

so that all the enterprizes of cardinal Alberoni having miscarried, this minister, who but six months before was looked upon as the greatest statesman the world had ever produced, passed ever after for a rash and turbulent schemer.

The duke of Orleans refused to make peace with Philip V. except upon condition that he would discard his minister; he was delivered by the king of Spain to the French troops, which conducted him to the frontiers of Italy. This very man being afterwards sent as legate to Boulogne, and having it no longer in his power to ruin kingdoms, employed his leisure in an attempt to destroy the republic of San Marino. However, the result of all his great projects was an agreement to give up Sicily to the emperor Charles VI. and Sardinia to the dukes of Savoy, who have remained in possession of it ever since, and who upon that account have resumed the title of kings of Sardinia; but the house of Austria has since lost Sicily.

C H A P. CLXXXVIII.

Continuation of the General View of EUROPE. Re-
gency of the Duke of ORLEANS. LAW's System.

ALL the courts of Europe were astonished to see, some time after, in 1724 and 1725, Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly irreconcilable enemies, now united in bonds of the strictest friendship; and affairs deviated from their natural course to such a degree, that the ministry of Madrid governed the court of Vienna during a whole year. That court, whose intention had constantly been to exclude the French branch which reigned over Spain, from all access to

H 2

Italy,

nish fleet, except three ships of the line and three frigates, which escaped under the conduct of rear-admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland.

Italy, so far lost sight of its first views as to admit a son of Philip V. and Elizabeth of Parma, his second wife, into that very country from which they formerly intended to exclude every Frenchman and every Spaniard. The emperor bestowed upon this younger son of his competitor the investiture of Parma and Placentia, and the grand duchy of Tuscany. Though the succession of these states was not made public, Don Carlos was introduced with six thousand Spaniards; and it cost Spain only twenty thousand pistoles, which were paid at Vienna.

This imprudent step of the emperor's council was by no means one of those which are productive of happy consequences; it cost him very dear in the sequel. Every circumstance in this treaty was singular; two adverse houses united without trusting each other; the English, who had exerted their utmost effort to dethrone Philip V. and had deprived him of Minorca and Gibraltar, were mediators in the treaty: it was signed by a Dutchman, named Ripperda, who had been raised to the dignity of duke, and was at that time very powerful in Spain; he was disgraced after having signed it, and retired to end his life in the kingdom of Morocco, where he endeavoured to establish a new religion.

In France, during this time, the regency of the duke of Orleans, which threatened to be the most tumultuous ever known, on account of the secret practices of his enemies, and the general confusion of the finances, had been the most peaceable and the most happy imaginable. The habit of obedience, to which the French had been accustomed under Lewis XIV. was the security of the regent, and of public tranquillity. The conspiracy, which had been directed under-hand by cardinal Alberoni, and ill managed in France, was defeated as soon

* Alberoni, by means of the prince of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, intrigued with the malcontents of France; and a scheme was formed for seizing the regent, and securing the person of the young king. The duke of Orleans received the first intimation of this plot from the king of Great Britain; but the particulars

as formed. The parliament, which during the minority of Lewis XIV. had commenced a civil war, on account of twelve places of master of the requests, and which had superseded the wills of Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. with less ceremony than if they had been the wills of private persons, scarcely had liberty to remonstrate, when the numerary value of the coin was raised to above three times its ordinary standard. His marching on foot from the great chamber to the Louvre, only drew upon him the raillery of the people. The most unjust edict that ever was published, the edict whereby all the inhabitants of the kingdom were forbid to keep by them any more than five hundred livres in ready money, did not occasion the least disturbance. The general scarcity of specie in the land; a whole people pressing in crowds to ask at an office a little money to supply their immediate occasions; paper credit, with which France was quite overwhelmed; many citizens trod to death in the crowd, and their dead bodies carried to the royal palace; I say, all this put together did not give rise to the slightest insurrection. In a word, the celebrated system of Law, which seemed calculated to ruin both the regency and the state, contributed to the support of both, by consequences which no body could foresee.

H 3

The

particulars were discovered by accident. The prince de Cellamare intrusted his dispatches to the abbé Portocarrero, and son of the marquis de Montelione, who set out from Paris together in a post-chaise, and were overturned. The postilion, having, on this occasion, heard the abbé declare that he would not have lost his portmanteau for an hundred thousand pistoles, informed the government of this circumstance at his return to Paris. The Spaniards were immediately pursued, overtaken and seized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which were found two letters, which made the regent acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. The prince de Cellamare was forthwith conducted to the frontiers. The duke of Mayne, the marquis de Pompadour, and the cardinal de Polignac, with many other persons of distinction, were committed to different prisons. The regent declared war against Spain; and an army of thirty-six thousand men was sent towards that kingdom, under the command of the duke of Berwick.

The avarice which it occasioned amongst men of all conditions, from the lowest of the vulgar to the magistrates, bishops, and princes of the blood, drew off the attention of every body from the public good, and from every political and ambitious view, by filling them with the dread of losing, and the thirst of gain. It was a great and extraordinary game of hazard, at which the citizens betted against each other. Earnest gamesters never lay aside their cards in order to disturb the government. It happened by a sort of delusion, whose springs will for ever remain hidden from all but the most experienced and piercing eyes, that a system altogether chimerical, gave rise to a real commerce, and caused to flourish a-new the company of the Indies, which had before been established by the celebrated Colbert, and ruined by the wars. In a word, though the fortunes of many private persons were destroyed, the nation, in general, in a short time became more rich, and its trade more extensive. This system enlightened the minds of men in the same manner that civil wars whet their courage.

This was an epidemical disease, which soon spread from France to Holland and England: it is worthy the attention of posterity; for it was not the political interest of two or three princes that thus turned whole nations topsy-turvy. The people of their own accord ran headlong into this folly, which enriched some families, and reduced many more to beggary. A Scotchman, named John Law, whom we call John Lais, who had no other employment than that of a gamester and calculator, was obliged to fly from Great Britain on account of a murder: he had a long time before digested the plan of a company, which was to pay the debts of a state by bank-notes, and reimburse itself with the profits. This system was extremely complicated; but, under proper regulations, it might have been made of great use. It was an imitation of the English bank and India company. He proposed this establishment to the duke of Savoy Victor Amadeus, since first king of Sardinia, who answered, that he was not great enough to ruin himself.

He

He proposed it likewise to the comptroller-general Des Marets ; but that was at the time of an unfortunate war, by which all credit was annihilated ; and credit was the basis of this system.

In fine, he found the regency of the duke of Orleans a juncture every way favourable ; a debt of two thousand millions to pay, a peace which left the government at leisure, and a prince and people passionately fond of novelties.

He first of all established a bank in his own name, in the year 1716. This soon became a general office of the receipts of the kingdom. To this was joined the company of the Mississippi ; a company from which the public was persuaded to hope for extraordinary advantages. The people, being seduced by the allurements of hope, ran with the utmost eagerness to purchase the actions of this company and bank united. Wealth, which was before locked up by the distrustful, now began to circulate with profusion ; the company's notes encreased this wealth two and even fourfold. In effect, France became extremely rich by the influence of credit. Luxury became known to men in every station of life ; and it passed to the neighbours of France, who had a share in this commerce.

The bank was declared a royal bank in 1718. It undertook to manage the commerce of Senegal, and acquired the privilege of the old India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had fallen since his time, and resigned its commerce to the traders of St. Malo. In fine, it took upon itself the general farms of the whole kingdom. Thus was all the wealth of the whole kingdom in the hands of Law, and the finances themselves depended upon a trading company.

As this company appeared to be established upon such great funds, its actions increased to more than twenty times their first value. The frequent variations in the price of these effects brought immense fortunes to obscure persons : Many in less than six months became more opulent than some sovereigns. Law, dazzled by his own system, and intoxicated by the public fren-

zy as well as his own, had made so many notes, that the imaginary value of actions amounted in 1719 to eighty times the money that could circulate in the kingdom. The government reimbursed all the tenants of the state by paper.

The regent was unable to govern a machine so immense and complicated, whose rapid motion hurried him on, whether he would or not. The ancient financiers, and the wealthy bankers united, exhausted the royal bank by making considerable draughts upon it. Every body tried to change their notes for cash; but the disproportion was enormous. Credit sunk all of a sudden; the regent strove to revive it by edicts which entirely destroyed it. Nothing was then seen but paper; real misery began to succeed so much imaginary wealth. At this juncture the place of comptroller-general was conferred upon Law, exactly at a time when it was impossible for him to acquit himself of the duties required by it; it was in 1720, an epocha rendered remarkable by the subversion of all private fortunes, and of the revenues of the kingdom. He was seen soon after to become, by naturalization, a Frenchman of a Scotchman; a catholic of a protestant; of an adventurer, a lord possessed of one of the finest estates of the kingdom; and of a banker a minister of state. The disorder was risen to its highest pitch. The parliament of Paris made all the opposition in its power to these innovations, and was therefore banished to Pontoise. In fine, during the course of the same year, Law, loaded with the public execration, was obliged to fly from the country which he had turned topsy-turvy by attempting to enrich it.

The regent is charged in libels published at that time with having seized all the specie of the kingdom, that he might be in a condition to effect his ambitious designs; and it cannot be denied that he died seven millions in debt. Law was accused by the same authors of having sent the current coin of France into foreign countries for his own emolument: he lived for some time at London, being supported by the generosity of the marquis of Laffay, and died at Venice in circumstances

stances just above indigence. Such revolutions are not the least useful objects which history offers to our consideration.

During this time the plague made terrible havock in Provence : the war with Spain still continued : Bretagne was ripe for rebellion : conspiracies had been formed against the regent ; yet notwithstanding all this he, with scarce any difficulty, succeeded in all he undertook, either at home or abroad. The kingdom was in a confusion, which occasioned universal dread ; yet this was the reign of pleasure and voluptuousness.

After the system of Law had failed, it was necessary to reform the state ; an estimation was made of the fortunes of all the citizens, a step no less extraordinary than the system itself : this was the greatest and most difficult operation of exchequer ever made in any nation.

It was begun about the close of the year 1721. It was contrived, digested, and conducted by four brothers, who till then never had any considerable share in public affairs, and who by their genius and industry were worthy of being intrusted with the revenues of the state. They erected a proper number of offices for masters of requests and other judges ; they formed a certain and simple method whereby to extricate affairs from the chaos wherein they were plunged ; five hundred eleven thousand and five citizens, most of them fathers of families, carried their fortunes in paper to this tribunal. All these innumerable debts were cleared for about sixteen hundred and thirty-two numerary millions in ready cash, for which the state was accountable. Thus ended this extraordinary game of hazard, which an obscure stranger had caused the whole nation to play. After the demolishing of this vast edifice of Law, so boldly conceived, and which crushed its own architect, there still remained of its ruins an India company, which soon became the rival of those of London and Amsterdam.

The insatiation for venturing money upon the actions of a company, which had turned the heads of the
H 5 French,

French, soon after intoxicated the Dutch and English. Those who had examined the springs by which so many private persons in France had suddenly raised immense fortunes upon the credulity and misery of the public, introduced the same artifice and the same folly in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and London: companies were established, and an imaginary commerce set on foot. Amsterdam was soon undeceived, Rotterdam was for some time reduced almost to ruin. London was full of confusion and tumult during the year 1720. This frenzy produced in France and England a prodigious number of bankruptcies, frauds, public impositions, and all that depravity of manners which is the natural result of a boundless avarice.

C H A P. CLXXXIX.

Continuation of the general View of EUROPE, to the Year 1756.

AFTER the confusion in the finances had ceased with the regency, the confusion in state affairs ceased likewise when cardinal de Fleury was at the head of the ministry. If ever there was a happy man upon earth, it was doubtless cardinal de Fleury. He was looked upon as the most amiable man, and the best companion in the world, till the age of 73, and, at a time when most men retire from public life, he undertook to hold the helm of government; he was considered as one of the wisest ministers; he was constantly crowned with success, from the year 1726 till the year 1742. Till near the age of ninety, he preserved his faculties unimpaired, and was always capable of business.

When we reflect that out of a thousand cotemporaries, there is seldom one that attains to that age, we cannot avoid acknowledging that the cardinal was a favourite of fortune; his gentleness and moderation were equally worthy of admiration. Every body has heard of the wealth and magnificence of the cardinal d'Amboise, who aspired to the papal dignity, and of the ar-

regent

rogant simplicity of Ximenes, who raised armies at his own expence, and in the habit of a monk, boasted that he led all the grandees of Spain with his cord : every body is acquainted with the royal magnificence of Richelieu, and the prodigious wealth accumulated by Mazarine. Modesty was the only distinction that remained for Fleury ; he was simple and frugal in every thing, and this character he constantly maintained. Elevation was wanting in his character ; but this defect was connected with virtues, such as mildness, evenness of temper, the love of order and peace : he proved, that those of a gentle and pacific character are born to govern others.

He left France to repair its losses, and to enrich itself by a vast commerce, without making any innovation, treating the state as a robust and strong body that may recover without assistance.

Political affairs insensibly reassumed their natural order. Happily for Europe, Robert Walpole, the English minister, was of a character equally pacific ; and these two continued to preserve this tranquillity almost through all Europe, which enjoyed this blessing from the time of the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733 ; this state of tranquillity had been interrupted but once, and that was by the short war of 1718. This was an happy period for all nations, which, cultivating the arts and commerce with emulation, forgot all their past calamities.

In these days two powers were formed which Europe had never heard of in any former age. The first was Russia, which the czar Peter the Great had civilized when plunged in a state of barbarism. Before his time this power consisted entirely of immense deserts and a people without laws, discipline, or knowledge, such as the Tartars have been in all ages. The czar was so little known in France, that when a Russian embassy was sent to Lewis XIV. in 1768, the event was celebrated by a medal, as if it had been an embassy from Siam. This new government began to have considerable influence in the affairs of Europe, and to give laws to the North, after having reduced Sweden. The

The second power established by dint of art, and upon foundations less considerable, was Prussia. Its forces were preparing, but they did not display themselves for a time. The house of Austria remained in pretty nearly the same state wherein it had been left by the peace of Utrecht. England preserved her maritime power, and Holland began to lose hers imperceptibly. This little state, which owed its power to the want of industry in other nations, began to decline, because its neighbours of themselves carried on the commerce of which it had formerly been master. Sweden was in a languishing condition; Denmark in a flourishing way. Spain and Portugal were supported by America. Italy, always weak, was divided into as many states as at the beginning of the century, excepting Mantua, which was become part of the Austrian inheritance.

Savoy at that time furnished the world with an extraordinary sight, and princes with a most instructive lesson. The king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, the same Victor Amadeus, who was sometimes the ally, and sometimes the enemy of France and Austria, and whose wavering conduct had passed for policy, being tired of bearing the burden of affairs, and weary of himself, abdicated, through mere caprice, in 1730, at the age of sixty-four, the crown which he had worn the first of his family; and, by a second caprice, soon after repented of what he had done. The company of his mistress, who was become his wife, devotion, and the tranquillity of retirement, could not satisfy a soul occupied during fifty years with the affairs of Europe.

This example is a strong proof of human weakness, and fully shews how incapable man is of happiness, either in private life, or when possessed of a throne. In this century four sovereigns renounced their royalty, Christina, Casimir, Philip V. and Victor Amadeus. Philip V. resumed the helm of government against his will. Casimir relinquished all thoughts of reigning. Christina was often tempted to reascend the throne, by a disgust that she had received at Rome. Amadeus
alone

alone was desirous of regaining by force the throne which his restless temper had made him abdicate. Every body knows the consequence of his attempt. His son Charles Emanuel would have acquired a glory far surpassing that of crowns, by restoring to his father that which he had received from him, if his father alone had required it, and if the juncture had admitted of his taking such a step ; but an ambitious mistress aspired to be queen, and the council was obliged to obviate the ill consequences, and seize upon the person of him who had once been their sovereign. He afterwards died in confinement. Nothing can be more false and groundless than what has been asserted in the historical tracts of those times, namely, that France proposed sending two thousand men to take the part of the father against the son. Neither the abdication of that monarch, the attempt he made to recover his sceptre, his imprisonment, or his death, were productive of any consequence in the neighbouring nations.

Peace was every where established from Russia to Spain, when the death of Augustus II. again plunged Europe into those dissensions and calamities from which it is so seldom exempt.

King Stanislaus, father-in-law to Lewis XV. already nominated king of Poland in the year 1704, was elected king in 1733 in the most legal and solemn manner imaginable. But the emperor Charles VI. caused the states of Poland to proceed to another election, supported by his troops and those of Russia. The elector of Saxony, son to the last king of Poland, who had married a niece of Charles VI. was chosen in preference to his competitor. Thus the house of Austria, which had proved unable to keep Spain and the West Indies, and which had not long before failed in establishing a trading company at Ostend, had influence enough to deprive the father-in-law of Lewis XV. of the crown of Poland. Upon this occasion France saw a renewal of the disappointment which had befallen prince Armand of Conti, who being solemnly elected, but destitute of money and troops, and more strongly recommended than

than supported, lost the kingdom which he had been invited to reign over.

King Stanislaus repaired to Dantzick to maintain his election. The majority, by whom he had been elected, soon yielded to the smaller number which opposed him. This country, where the common people live in slavery, the nobles sell their suffrages, where there is never in the public treasury money sufficient to supply the troops, where the laws have no force, and liberty serves only to produce factions; this country, I say, vainly boasted of a warlike nobility, which furnished a body of one hundred thousand horse. Ten thousand Russians * instantly put to flight all those who had assembled in favour of Stanislaus. The Polanders, who but a century before looked down with contempt upon the Russians, were now intimidated and led by them. The empire of Russia was become formidable since Peter the Great had introduced the knowledge of arts and arms. Ten thousand well disciplined Russian slaves dispersed the whole nobility of Poland; and king Stanislaus, shut up in Dantzick, was quickly besieged there by an army of Russians.

The emperor of Germany, being united with Russia, was confident of success. To counterbalance these powers, France should have sent a considerable force by sea: but England certainly would not have looked on while these preparations were making, without declaring itself. Cardinal de Fleury, who was willing to keep fair with England, did not care to incur the shame of utterly abandoning king Stanislaus, nor to venture a considerable body of men in his aid. He sent upon this expedition a squadron with one thousand five hundred men, under the command of a brigadier. This officer never looked upon his commission as serious: he apprehended, when he was near Dantzick, that to engage the enemy would be sacrificing his men to no purpose; he therefore put in at one of the ports of Denmark.

* The Russian general Laszi entered Poland at the head of fifty thousand men; and was joined by ten thousand Poles, who declared for Augustus.

Denmark. The count de Plelo, ambassador of France at the court of Denmark, saw with indignation this retreat, which appeared to him ignominious. He was a young man, who, to the study of literature and philosophy, united heroic sentiments worthy of a better fate. He resolved with this handful of men to succour Dantzick against an army, or perish in the attempt. Before he embarked he wrote a letter to one of the secretaries of state, which ended with these words; "I am sure I shall never return; I therefore recommend to you my wife and children." He arrived in the road of Dantzick, landed, and attacked the Russian army; he fell in the action, covered with wounds from head to foot, as he himself had foreseen. His letter and the news of his death arrived at the same time. Dantzick was taken, the ambassador sent from France to the king of Poland was made a prisoner of war, notwithstanding the privileges annexed to his character. King Stanislaus escaped with difficulty, amidst a thousand dangers; and, by the assistance of a disguise, after having a price set on his head by the general of the Muscovites, in a free state, in his own country, and in the midst of the very nation by which he had been duly elected king.

With regard to the 1500 French, who had been so unadvisedly sent against a whole army of Russians, they made an honourable capitulation; but a Russian vessel being at that time taken by a ship belonging to the king of France, the 1500 men were carried to Petersburg, and there detained prisoners: they might reasonably expect to be treated with inhumanity by a people who were looked upon as barbarous at the beginning of the century. The empress Anne reigned at that time; she caused the officers to be treated like ambassadors, and cloaths and refreshments to be given to the soldiers. Such an instance of generosity, unheard of till then, was a consequence of the great improvements made by the czar Peter at the court of Russia, and a sort of noble revenge taken for the disadvantageous ideas still conceived of it, through the influence of old national prejudices. The French ministry would
have

have totally lost the reputation necessary for the support of greatness, if they had not revenged the outrage just received in Poland ; but this vengeance would have been of no consequence, if it did not promote some useful purpose. The distance of place did not allow of falling upon the Muscovites ; and policy required that the emperor should feel the whole weight of this revenge. It was executed with great severity both in Germany and Italy. France entered into an alliance with Spain and Sardinia. These three powers had their respective interests, but they all concurred in one view, namely, in weakening the house of Austria.

The dukes of Savoy had been a long time gradually encreasing their dominions, by sometimes assisting the emperors, and sometimes declaring against them. The king of Sardinia, Charles Emanuel, hoped to procure the duchy of Milan ; and it had been promised him both by the ministers of Versailles and Madrid. Philip V. king of Spain, or rather queen Elizabeth of Parma, his consort, hoped for more considerable establishments for the royal offspring than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had nothing in view but to encrease his own glory, to pull down his enemies, and to promote the interest of his allies.

No body at that time foresaw, that Lorraine was to be an acquisition of that war. Men rarely direct events ; they are almost always directed by them. Never was negotiation more speedily concluded than that which united these three monarchs.

England and Holland, which had for a long time been accustomed to declare themselves for Austria, against France, abandoned her upon this occasion. This was owing to that reputation for equity and moderation which the court of France had acquired, during the administration of cardinal de Fleury. The idea of its pacific and disinterested views bound the hands of its natural enemies, even during a war ; and nothing could be more honourable to the ministry than their having made those powers sensible that France might carry on a war with the emperor, without endangering the liberty

liberty of Europe. All the potentates stood by unconcerned spectators of its rapid successes. A French army was in possession of the banks of the Rhine; and the united forces of France, Spain, and Savoy, were in possession of Italy. The marshal de Villars ended his glorious career at the age of eighty-two, after having taken Milan. His successor, the marshal de Coigny, gained two battles; whilst the duke of Montemar, the Spanish general, was victorious in the kingdom of Naples at Bitonto, from which he derived a surname. This is an honour frequently conferred by the court of Spain, in imitation of the ancient Roman custom. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged hereditary prince of Tuscany, became, soon after, king of Naples and Sicily. Thus did the emperor Charles VI. lose almost all Italy by giving a king to Poland; and a son of the king of Spain obtained, in two campaigns, the two Sicilies, which had so often been taken and retaken before, and were constant objects of the attention of the house of Austria for above two centuries. This Italian war is the only one that has been productive of any solid advantage to France, since the time of Charlemagne. This was owing to their being assisted by the guardian of the Alps, who was become one of the most powerful princes in those countries; to their being seconded by the best troops of Spain, and to their armies being abundantly supplied with provisions and all things necessary.

The emperor then thought himself happy in receiving the terms of peace offered by victorious France. Cardinal de Fleury, the French minister, who had been prudent enough to prevent Holland and England from engaging in that war, had also wisdom enough to bring it to a happy conclusion without their intervention.

By one of the articles of this peace, don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. Europe was at this time accustomed to see states given and exchanged. To Francis duke of Lorraine, son-in-law to the emperor, was assigned the inheritance of Medicis, which had before been granted to don Carlos; and the

the last grand duke of Tuscany being near his end, asked if they would not give him a third heir, and what successor the empire and France intended for him. Not that the grand duchy of Tuscany considered itself as depending upon the empire; but the emperor looked upon it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had always been claimed by the holy see, and for which the last duke of Parma had done homage to the pope: so much does law change in different periods! By this peace the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which by the order of succession belonged to don Carlos, son of Philip V. and of a princess of Parma, were given up to the emperor Charles VI. as his property.

The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who claimed the whole duchy of Milan, to which his family, that had aggrandised itself by degrees, had long since formed pretensions, obtained only a small part of it, namely, the districts belonging to Novara and Tortona, and the fiefs of Langhes. He derived his claim to the duchy of Milan from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, from whom he was descended. France had likewise pretensions of an ancient date, from Lewis XII. the natural heir to that duchy. Philip V. founded his pretensions on the settlements renewed to four kings of Spain, his predecessors. But all these pretensions yielded to convenience and the general good. The emperor retained the duchy of Milan: it is not a fief of which he is always to give the investiture: it was originally the kingdom of Lombardy annexed to the empire, which afterwards became a fief under the Viscomtis and the Sforzas; and at present it is a state belonging to the emperor; a dismembered state, it is true, but one that, with Tuscany and Mantua, renders the house of Austria very powerful in Italy.

By this treaty king Stanislaus renounced the kingdom which he had twice obtained, and which his allies were unable to secure to him; he however still retained the title of king. But he was to be further indemnified, and that more upon the account of France than

than of himself. The cardinal de Fleury was at first satisfied with the district of Bar, which the duke of Lorraine was to give to king Stanislaus, with a reversion to the crown of France; and Lorraine was not to be ceded, till its duke should be in full possession of Tuscany. This was making the cession of Lorraine depend greatly upon chance. It was making but very little use of the greatest successes and the most favourable conjunctures imaginable. Cardinal de Fleury was encouraged to avail himself of his advantages; he demanded Lorraine upon the same conditions with the district of Bar, and obtained it.

It cost him only a little ready money, and a pension of three millions five hundred thousand livres, granted to duke Francis till he should be possessed of Tuscany.

Thus was Lorraine irrevocably reunited to the crown; a reunion so many times attempted without success. By these means a king of Poland was transplanted to Lorraine; and that province had for the last time a sovereign who resided in it, and rendered it happy. The reigning prince of the house of Lorraine became sovereign of Tuscany. The second son of the king of Spain was removed to Naples. The inscription of Trajan's medal might have been applied upon this occasion, *Regna assignata*, Thrones assigned.

C H A P. CXC.

Concerning the new House of AUSTRIA, the War of 1741, and the Conquests of LEWIS XV.

THE house of Bourbon, at the close of this short war, found itself raised to a pitch of grandeur which it durst not have presumed to hope for, in the midst of the most shining prosperity of Lewis XIV. Almost the whole inheritance of the family of Charles V. of Spain, the two Sicilies, Mexico, Peru, were in its possession: and finally the house of Austria ended
in

in the person of Charles VI. in 1740. What remained of his spoils was near being taken from his daughter, and divided amongst several powers. France caused an emperor to be elected with as great facility as the emperors, in former ages, caused electors of Cologne, and bishops of Liege to be chosen. The famous pragmatic sanction of the last Austrian emperor, which secured to his daughter the sole possession of all his dominions; a pragmatic sanction guarantied by the empire, by England, by Holland, and even by France herself, was not, at first, supported by any power. The elector of Bavaria, son to him who was proscribed by the empire, was without opposition crowned at Lintz duke of Austria, king of Bohemia at Prague, and emperor at Frankfort, by the assistance of Lewis XV's arms. The daughter of so many emperors was a whole year destitute of assistance, and without any hopes but in her own resolution. Scarce had she closed her dying father's eyes, when she lost Silesia, which was invaded by a young king of Prussia, whose renown will extend to the most distant ages. He was the first to avail himself of the conjuncture, and rendered subservient to his greatness an army disciplined like those of the old Romans, which his father had formed merely for shew and ostentation. France, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the remains of the house of Austria. They advanced even to the gates of Vienna; her allies observed a profound silence; there seemed to remain no room for a doubt that her states would be divided. But it quickly appeared, that there is no real greatness amongst men, but that which is founded upon their own forces. The elector of Bavaria, emperor, with the appellation of Charles VII. a prince of great abilities, but destitute of two things indispensibly necessary (treasure and good troops) having allies who were frequently at variance, and being overwhelmed with diseases, could not possibly succeed by his own power, and few have conquered potent states by the hands of another. The greatest advantages were soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities. All that should have

have contributed to his greatness, facilitated his ruin, and all that threatened to overwhelm the queen of Hungary, helped to raise her higher. The house of Austria rose again from its ashes. The queen of Hungary found a powerful ally in George II. king of England; and afterwards her cause was espoused by Sardinia, Holland, and even the Russian empire, which sent, in the last year of the war, about thirty-five thousand men to her assistance. She made separate treaties with Prussia and Saxony; but she found no less succour in her magnanimity than in her allies. Hungary, which her ancestors had found a constant source of civil wars, opposition, and punishments, became in her reign a kingdom united, well-affected, and peopled with her defenders. The several parties engaged in Germany, in Italy, in Flanders, upon the frontiers of France, upon the Indian and American Oceans, much in the same manner as in the war of 1701. The cardinal de Fleury, being too much advanced in years to support so heavy a burthen, spent with regret the treasures of France in a war undertaken against his will, and died, after having been a witness of many misfortunes caused by the grossest errors of conduct. He could never conceive that the kingdom stood in need of a maritime force; the few remaining vessels of France had been entirely destroyed by the English, and its provinces were exposed to an invasion. The emperor, who was indebted to France for his dignity, and had been three times driven out of his own dominions. He died the most unhappy prince upon the face of the earth, and his lamentable fall was owing to his having been raised to the summit of human greatness. The queen of Hungary had the glory and satisfaction of causing her consort to be elected emperor, and of being the foundress of a new imperial family.

The French armies were destroyed in Bavaria and Bohemia, without ever coming to a decisive battle; and such was their deplorable condition, that a retreat, which they stood in need of, and which appeared to be impracticable, was looked upon as an extraordinary happiness.

happiness. The marshal de Belleisle preserved the remainder of the French army, which was besieged in Prague, and led a body of about thirteen thousand men from Prague to Egra, by a round-about way, of thirty eight leagues, through frost and snow, and in the view of the enemy. In a word, the war was carried back from the heart of Austria to the Rhine.

The king of France having, in 1743, seen and lamented the death of cardinal de Fleury, governed by himself, and repaired the misfortunes which the last years of that administration had produced. His situation was much the same with that which his great grandfather had been in during the war of 1701. He was under a necessity of supporting France and Spain against the same enemies; that is to say, against Austria, England, Holland, and Sardinia.

Lewis XV. after the death of cardinal de Fleury, acted as Lewis XIV. did after that of cardinal Mazarine; he assumed the helm of government himself, and headed his own armies. Never was war more vigorous, nor success more doubtful. The French army had been routed at Dettingen upon the Main, notwithstanding its advantageous situation; but on the other hand the prince of Conti forced the passage of the Alps. The king met with scarce any resistance in Flanders. He took Menin, Courtrai, and Ypres. In the midst of this progress he was informed that prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the new emperor Francis I. had passed the Rhine and entered Alsatia. The king immediately marched the same way; and during that rapid march, he increased the soldiers pay and quantity of provisions. Upon his arrival at Mentz, he was seized with a violent disorder, and his life was despaired of. So universal a sadness had never been seen in France before, and no people ever discovered so strong an affection for their monarch. They assembled in the public places of every town: the priests, when they offered up prayers for the king's recovery, interrupted them by shedding floods of tears, and the people answered with

sobs

sobs and cries. And when at length they were informed of his recovery, the excess of their joy was as immoderate as their grief had been before.

Scarce was his health established, scarce had the Austrians repassed the Rhine, when he flew to besiege Fribourg in Brisgau, and made himself master of the place. At this critical juncture marshal Saxe preserved the king's conquests with a small body of troops against a numerous army. Even then he began to acquire the reputation of the best general in Europe; and well deserved to be considered as such, since he commanded troops discouraged by their defeat, against the same army that, after having conquered at Dettingen, pursued the French forces as far as the Rhine. He invested Tournay, in their presence. The Austrians, English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were disposed to prevent the loss of that city by a battle. Hereupon Lewis XV. without delay quitted Versailles with his son; it was at that time the battle of Fontenoy was fought; it will be famous for many ages, it is the first victory that a king of France gained in person over the English since the times of St. Lewis.

Marshal Saxe cast intrenchments round his army on every side. But the duke of Cumberland, son to George II. king of England, forced these entrenchments with his English and Hanoverians; he put to flight almost all the brigades that opposed him, and victory declared for him during a whole hour. Marshal Saxe, upon whom the welfare of France depended, was then dying of a disease, which afterwards brought him to the grave; he caused himself to be carried about in a chair made of osier, in order to visit the posts; and the effort he made to mount his horse during the action occasioned apprehensions that he would expire in a moment. The English column, always impenetrable, constantly gained ground. The marshal sent twice to intreat the king to retire; he even went so far, as twice to give positive orders for evacuating the important post of Antoin. The king did not think proper to retire, and the post was not evacuated. The presence of the king, which rendered this battle so hazardous, was the only circumstance that made it victorious.

The

The advice given by the duke of Richelieu to bring up the cannon against the English column *, and the reviving courage of the troops, at length decided the event of this important day. From that time forward, the French gained an ascendant over the English and the allies, which they never after lost. A few companies were surprised by a body of six thousand English upon the causeway of Ghent, near an abbey called Mele †. They stood their ground resolutely; in a short time they were assisted by others; they totally routed the whole body of the enemy; in this action forty Frenchmen forced three hundred Hanoverians to lay down their arms. Ghent was taken without resistance. Ostend, which had formerly held out three years, yielded in three days. Brussels was besieged and taken in the depth of winter. The Turennes and the Condés never made more glorious campaigns.

Marshal Saxe constrains the Austrians to repass the Meuse and the Maese; they suffer the prince of Clermont to take Namur. They appear a second time at the gates of Leige; the marshal marches towards them, and defeats them in a pitched battle ‡. All Dutch Brabant falls into the hands of Lewis XV. The Dutch, alarmed at these successes, chuse a stadtholder, as the Romans created a dictator upon extraordinary emergencies; but with very different success. The

* This English column existed no where but in our author's imagination. The British infantry attacked in a line, and not in a column; and had they been properly sustained by the Dutch troops and the cavalry on the wings, the French army would in all likelihood have been defeated.

† The duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a design upon Ghent, detached a body of four or five thousand men to reinforce the garrison of that city. This detachment fell into an ambuscade at a place called Par-du-Mele, where they were attacked on a long march by a body of French troops, amounting to ten thousand, and defeated after a desperate resistance. That same night, Ghent was surprised.

‡ At the village of Roucoux. The battle was fought on the first day of October. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who commanded the allies, was obliged to retreat towards Maestricht with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery.

The king, at the head of his army, under the conduct of marshal Saxe, again beats the duke of Cumberland, at Laufelt * near Maastricht. Bergenopzoom, which was thought to be impregnable, being secured by its situation, by a numerous garrison, and by an army which encamped before its gates, was taken by storm when the breach was scarce large enough to be entered. This is the only town that was taken sword in hand, since Valenciennes was conquered by the musqueteers and French guards in 1677. It was likewise the only one that was abandoned to pillage. The conquerors found in the port seventeen large barks laden with provisions, with this direction in large characters upon each, "To the invincible garrison of Bergenopzoom." This success was due to the bravery of marshal Lowendahl, a native of Denmark, who commanded at the siege. At that time two strangers, marshal Saxe and himself, supported the fortune of France and the Low Countries, and compensated for the losses which were sustained elsewhere.

Marshal Saxe closed his campaigns, and rendered his glory complete, by the most skilful motion that had been seen for a long time. He intended to besiege Maastricht, for which purpose it was necessary to deceive the enemy; he caused several detachments to file off, some to Luxembourg, others to Breda; one division marches to Tongres, another to Tirlemont, and no body knows where all these bodies are to unite. The enemy does not know what post to defend; they leave him master of the Maese. He invests Maastricht in the sight of eighty thousand men, who are unable to make any opposition. This was the last ex-

Vol. VI. I ample

* The loss of this battle was also owing to the misbehaviour of the Dutch troops. A body of their horse posted in the centre gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reserve. The French cavalry, taking advantage of this incident, charged them in their confusion with great impetuosity, and penetrated through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre.

ample he gave of his knowledge in the art of war; and these last successes were preludes to a peace, which all parties equally stood in need of.

Marshal Saxe was son to Augustus II. king of Poland, and the countess of Konigsmark. He served in France from the age of seventeen. He was for a long time looked upon as a mere man of pleasure, and people were not aware, that, in the midst of luxury and voluptuousness, he studied the art of war with the most arduous application; and was become a great man long before his talents were known.

C H A P. CXCI.

Of Prince CHARLES EDWARD.

GREAT BRITAIN had, in this war, been upon the point of undergoing a revolution similar to that of the red and white roses. Prince Charles Edward, whose grandfather, by the father's side, was the unfortunate British monarch James II. and the great king of Poland, John Sobieski, his grandfather on the mother's side, made an attempt to reascend the throne of Great Britain, by one of those extravagant enterprises, of which we meet with no examples except amongst the English, or in the fabulous ages of antiquity. He embarked, on the 12th of June 1745, in a small frigate of eighteen guns, without having given the court of France any intimation of his design; and having, in order to effect the conquest of three kingdoms, only seven officers, eighteen hundred sabres, twelve hundred fuzils, two thousand lewis d'ors, which he had borrowed, and not a single soldier.

After a passage wherein he was surrounded by dangers, he landed upon the south-west coast of Scotland: a few inhabitants of Moydart, to whom he discovered himself, threw themselves prostrate before him, but exclaimed at the same time, What can we do? we

have

Have no arms ; we are poor, and destitute of all resource ; we live only upon bread made of oats, and we cultivate barren lands. The prince made answer ; " I will cultivate this land with you ; I will eat of this bread ; I will share your poverty, and I have brought you arms."

The inhabitants, moved and encouraged by this, took up arms in his favour : they were immediately joined by the neighbouring tribes, which go by the name of clans. A piece of silk, which he had brought over, served him as a royal standard. As soon as he saw himself at the head of one thousand five hundred men, he marched to Perth, made himself master of it, and there caused himself to be proclaimed regent of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, in the name of his father James III. This title of regent of France, which was assumed by a prince who was scarce master of an inconsiderable village in Scotland, and who had no hopes of success but from the assistance of the French king, was a consequence of the custom adopted by the English kings, of assuming the title of kings of France ; a custom which still subsists, though it should be abolished.

After this some Scotch noblemen repaired to his standard. He entered Edinburgh, and there caused himself to be acknowledged sovereign. The king of England's council set a price upon his head : 30,000 pounds sterling (about seven hundred thousand livres) were offered to the person who should give him up, dead or alive. To this menace he answered by gaining, with his one thousand five hundred Highlanders, a complete victory at Preston-pans, over an English army ; and he took as many prisoners as he himself had soldiers. These Highlanders are the only people in Europe who preserve the military habit of the ancient Romans, together with the buckler ; with the habit they possessed the courage of those Romans ; they were deficient in nothing but discipline. The kings of Spain and France, upon this occasion, sent some pecuniary assistance to prince Edward. They wrote to him ; they bestowed upon him the title of

I 2

brother ;

brother; two or three hundred men, of the royal Scotch regiment *, were sent to him from France, with some piquets, who landed, after having passed through the midst of the English fleet.

The young prince subdued the whole country as far as Carlisle, and advanced within a hundred miles of London; he was then at the head of an army of about eight thousand men. Another English general, not the same that had been defeated at Preston-pans † advanced towards Scotland. Prince Edward marched against him in the depth of winter, came up with him at Falkirk, upon the way to Edinburgh, gained a second victory, and the next day a third, over the same troops which he had beat the day before ‡.

This was the favourable time to complete the revolution; already a considerable part of London was, in secret, well affected to his cause §. That capital was full of broils and confusion. The duke of Richelieu was upon the coasts of France, ready to bring ten thousand men to his assistance; but as France was at that time in want of men of war, the enterprise miscarried, and the whole fruit of the efforts and victories of Edward was lost. The duke of Cumberland, at the head of a well-disciplined army, well armed, and provided with artillery, at last defeated these Highlanders, who were destitute of every thing but courage. Prince Edward received a total overthrow at the battle of Culloden, not many miles from Inverness: his whole army was dispersed; he went through much the same adventures which Charles II. had experienced after his defeat at Worcester, wandering like him, without succour, sometimes in company with two friends, the partners of his distress, sometimes

* There was no such regiment in France before the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland: the few troops that arrived as auxiliaries to the young pretender belonged to the Irish brigade.

† He was obliged to retreat to Scotland before the troops commanded by the duke of Cumberland.

‡ This third battle is altogether chimerical.

§ No symptoms of this appeared.

sometimes with only one : sometimes alone, walking from cavern to cavern, lying in the forests, taking refuge in desert islands, being in want both of cloaths and food ; and incessantly pursued by those who were desirous of getting the reward offered for taking him. Having one day walked above thirty miles on foot, being pressed hard by hunger, and almost ready to faint, he ventured to enter the house of a person who he knew was not of his party. " The son of your sovereign, said he, comes to ask of you food and raiment : I know you are my enemy, but I believe you a man of too much honour to abuse the confidence I place in you : take the rags that cover me, and keep them ; you may perhaps one day restore them to me, in the palace of the kings of Great Britain." The gentleman was moved with compassion, assisted him as far as his situation would permit, and kept his secret.

Whilst this prince, constantly pursued by his enemies, led a miserable and concealed life in the deserts, a circumstance which adds a new lustre to his glory, scaffolds and gibbets were erected in Scotland and England to punish his partizans : near eight hundred at different times suffered as traitors upon that account *.

They began on the seventeenth of August by the execution of seventeen officers, who were drawn upon a hurdle to the gallows, and after they were hanged the executioner tore out their hearts and struck their cheeks with them ; which being done, their bodies were cut in quarters. This punishment is a remnant of ancient barbarism. In former times it was customary to tear out the hearts of condemned persons, whilst they were still breathing.

This custom has been preserved in appearance, in order to strike with terror the minds of the vulgar, who are not easily intimidated. The lords Kilmar-nock, Balmerino, Derwentwater, and Lovat, were be-headed.

* The number of those that suffered death by law did not mount to one hundred.

headed. When Kilmarnock ascended the scaffold, he, like one who had repented of what he had done, cried out, Long live king George. Balmerino cried out, Long live king James, and his worthy son. Derwentwater was a younger brother of another lord Derwentwater executed in 1715, for having fought unsuccessfully in the very same cause: it was desired by this elder brother, that his son, then a child, should ascend the scaffold with him: he said to him, "My intention is to cover you with my blood, that you may learn to die for your kings."

It was the fate of those who were sprung from this family to die like heroes by the hands of an executioner. This Derwentwater had likewise a son who was born in France. "I die like my brother," said he; I exhort my son to die in like manner, if there should ever be occasion for it; and I recommend him to the king of France." This recommendation was not ineffectual, Lewis XV. settled a pension upon this son and his sister.

Lord Lovat was executed in the eightieth year of his age. Before he received the blow, he repeated the following verse of Horace:

Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori.

But there happened upon this occasion a very extraordinary incident, one of such a nature as could occur no where but in England. A young student, named Painter, who was devoted to the Jacobite party*, possessed with that spirit of fanaticism which produces so many extraordinary events, intreated with the most earnest and reiterated importunity to be executed in the place of lord Lovat.

Prince Edward, after having wandered a long time upon the coast of Lochaber, at last escaped the pursuits of his enemies. A small vessel conducted him to the coast of Bretagne: he went from thence to Paris, and

* Painter, on the contrary, professed the utmost abhorrence of the Jacobite party. His request was the effect of madness.

and there resided till the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle was set on foot, by which the king of France was obliged to deprive him of that asylum, for the general good of Europe. This unhappy prince suffered in Paris more mortifications than he had undergone in Scotland after the battle of Culloden: he obstinately persisted to stay, notwithstanding the treaty, and though he was frequently urged to depart by the king. It was thought necessary to secure his person; he was accordingly carried prisoner to Vincennes, and then sent out of the kingdom. This was the very height of the misfortunes of the unhappy race of Stewart. From that time forward Charles Edward hid himself from mankind.

Let private men, who think themselves unhappy, reflect a few moments upon the misfortunes of this prince and his ancestors.

C H A P. CXCI.

Admiral ANSON's Voyage round the World.

WHenever France or Spain happen to be at war with England, the shock given to Europe is felt at the extremities of the earth. If the industry and boldness of the modern nations of Europe give them an advantage over the rest of the world, and over the antients in general, it is owing to their maritime expeditions. Men are not as much surpris'd as perhaps they should be, when they see come out of the ports of a few inconsiderable provinces, unknown to the civilized nations of antiquity, fleets of such a construction, that a single vessel of them would have utterly destroyed all the shipping of the ancient Greeks and Romans. On the one hand these fleets go beyond the Ganges, in order to engage each other in the view of the most powerful empires, who stand by unconcerned spectators of the dire effects of an art which

they have not hitherto acquired : on the other hand, they go beyond America, to contend with each other for slaves in the new world.

The success is rarely proportioned to the greatness of these enterprizes, not only because it is impossible to see all the obstacles which may arise, but because adequate means are scarce ever made use of.

Admiral Anson's expedition proves how much a man of sense and resolution may perform ; though his preparations may be very inadequate to the danger of his undertaking.

Before so many nations had engaged in a war, in order to decide whether the daughter of the emperor Charles VI. should succeed her father, there subsisted a war between Spain and England about a ship * ; that war cost both parties a thousand times more than the worth of what had given rise to it.

The ministry of London, in the year 1739, sent admiral Vernon to Mexico : he there destroyed Porto bello, but he failed in his attempt upon Carthagena. It was intended at the same time that George Anson should fall upon Peru by the South-sea, in order, if possible to ruin, or at least weaken the vast empire which Spain had acquired in that part of the world, by both ends. Anson was created commodore, that is, commander of a squadron ; there were given to him five vessels, a sort of a little frigate of eight guns, with about one hundred men on board, and two ships laden with provisions and merchandize ; these two ships were intended to carry on commerce under the protection, of the convoy ; for it is peculiar to the English nation to mix traffic with warlike operations. Aboard the squadron were fourteen hundred seamen, amongst whom there were no more than two hundred and sixty superannuated invalids, and two hundred recruits. He steers his course by the island of Madeira,

* The cause of the war with Spain was a series of depredations and outrages committed upon the English traders in the West Indies. It was a cause upon which the liberty of the British commerce in a great measure depended.

Madeira, which belongs to Portugal; he advances to the isles of Cape Verd, and sails by the coasts of Brasil. His crew refreshed themselves in a little island named St. Catharine, which is covered with never-fading verdure, and abounds with fruit through every season of the year: this island is twenty-seven degrees beyond the tropic of Cancer. The commodore, after having coasted along the cold and uncultivated country of Patagonia, entered the streights of Maire about the end of February 1741; thus did he pass above a hundred degrees of latitude in less than five months. The little sloop or frigate of eight guns, named the Trial, was the first vessel of the kind that ventured to double Cape Horn: she afterwards seized, in the South Sea, a Spanish ship of six hundred tons, the crew of which little expected to have been taken in the Pacific Ocean by a ship from England.

However, upon doubling Cape Horn, after having passed the streights Le Maire, Anson's Squadron was shattered and dispersed by violent tempests. One half of the men aboard perished by an inveterate scurvy. The vessel of the commodore, being separated from the rest, put in at the desert island of Fernandez, which lies higher up the South-Sea, towards the tropic of Capricorn. A rational reader, who beholds with horror the prodigious efforts which mortals make, in order to render themselves and their fellow creatures unhappy, will perhaps receive some satisfaction upon being informed that George Anson, finding the climate of this island exceeding mild, and the soil equally fertile, sowed in it pulse and fruits, the seeds of which he brought with him from England, by which means it in a short time became a plentiful country. Certain Spaniards, who touched there some time after, being, in the course of the war, carried prisoners into England, formed an opinion, that Anson alone was capable of repairing the ravages of war by such an attention to the general good of mankind, and returned him thanks as their benefactor. Let me be allowed to soften, by such circumstances as these, the melancholy tenour of

a history which is almost one continued narrative of murders and calamities.

Anson, whose vessel carried sixty guns, being joined by another of his ships of war, and by the little frigate called the *Trial*, took several considerable prizes in cruising near the island of Fernandez; but having soon after advanced towards the equator, he ventured to attack the city of Paita, upon the same coast of America. He neither made use of his ships of war nor of his men, in executing this bold and hazardous attempt: the expedition was performed by fifty soldiers in a boat with oars: they landed during the night; the sudden surprize, the confusion, and the darkness, redoubled, multiplied, and encreased the danger. The governor, the garrison, and the inhabitants fled on every side. In the mean time the fifty English, without molestation, carried off the treasures which they found in the custom-house and in private houses, during the space of three days. Some black slaves, a species of animals who always become the property of the first that seize them, not having fled, assisted the English in carrying off the wealth of their former masters. Anson caused Paita to be burnt to ashes, and then set sail, having plundered the Spaniards with as much ease as they, in past ages, plundered the Americans. Spain lost above fifteen hundred thousand piastres by the fire: the English gained about one hundred and eighty thousand, which, added to the former captures, greatly enriched the squadron*. The great number of men carried off by the scurvy left the bulk of the treasure to the survivors. This little squadron came afterwards opposite to Panama, upon the coast where pearls are dived for, and advanced to Acapulco, at the back of Mexico. The government of Madrid was not then aware of the risk it ran of losing that vast region

* This exploit is greatly over-rated. The little town of Paita was very inconsiderable. It had been taken by the crew of a privateer in the reign of queen Anne. The value of all the effects plundered by Mr. Anson's people did not exceed thirty thousand pounds.

gion of the world. If admiral Vernon, who besieged Carthagena upon the opposite sea, had succeeded, he might have assisted commodore Anson. Thus the isthmus of Panama would have been taken by the English both upon the right and left, and the Spaniards deprived of the very centre of their American dominions.

Anson, who had but two ships remaining, the rest having been destroyed by tempests*, confined all his enterprizes and his sanguine hopes to the taking of a large galleon, which Mexico sends every year to the island of Manilla in the Chinese seas. Manilla is one of the Philippine Islands, so called, because they were discovered during the reign of Philip II.

This galleon, laden with silver, would not have set sail if the English had been seen upon the coasts, and it did not leave the port till a considerable time after their departure. The commodore therefore crossed the Pacific Ocean, and all the climates between our tropic and the equator. Avarice, rendered honourable by fatigue and danger, made him traverse the globe with his two remaining men of war. The scurvy continued to afflict the sailors upon these seas; and, as one of the two vessels leaked on every side, they were obliged to abandon and set fire to it, lest the wreck should be thrown upon some of the Spanish islands, and become of use to the inhabitants: the soldiers and sailors belonging to this vessel, were taken on board Anson's. At that time the only vessel that was left of his whole squadron was his own ship, called the Centurion, which carried sixty guns, and was accompanied by two tenders. The Centurion escaped alone from so many dangers, but in a very shattered condition, and having none but sick men on board, very fortunately touched at one of the Marianne islands called
Tinian,

* Two of his great ships never weathered Cape Horn, but returned to Europe, having first been refitted at Rio de Janeiro in Brasil. One frigate of twenty guns was wrecked on a desolate island in the South Sea; but none of them were destroyed by storms.

Tinian, which was at that time quite uninhabited. Not long before it contained no less than thirty thousand souls, but the greatest part of the inhabitants had been swept away by an epidemic disease, and the survivors had been removed to another island by the Spaniards.

The crew owed its preservation to the island of Tinian. That island, which surpassed Fernandes in fertility, abounded on all sides with wood, springs, and rivulets, tame animals, fruits, pulse, and every thing necessary for food, the conveniences of life, and for refitting the vessel. But the most extraordinary thing found there was a sort of a tree, the taste of whose fruit resembled that of the best bread; a real treasure, which, if it could be transplanted to our climates, would be greatly preferable to those riches which owe all their worth to opinion, and which men go in quest of to the end of the earth, through so many dangers and difficulties.

From this island he went to that of Formosa; he then bent his course towards China, to Macao, at the entrance of the river of Canton, in order to repair his only remaining vessel.

The commodore having completely refitted his ship at Macao by the assistance of the Chinese, and having taken aboard some Indian sailors, and some Hollanders, whom he thought to be useful men, put to sea again.

At length, upon the ninth of June 1743, the so much wished for Spanish ship was descried: it advanced towards Manilla, having but sixty-four guns*; the crew consisted of five hundred and fifty men fit for action; the treasure which it carried amounted only to about fifteen hundred thousand piastres in silver, with cochineal and other merchandize, because the whole treasure, which is generally double that sum, had been divided

* The Manilla ship, called the *Nuestra Señora de Cavadongo*, was mounted with sixty guns; and the treasure, with the other effects on board, amounted to three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling.

vided into two equal parts, and one half was carried by another galleon.

The commodore had but two hundred and forty men on board the *Centurion*. The captain of the galleon, perceiving the enemy, chose rather to venture the treasure than forfeit his reputation by flying before an Englishman; for which reason he hoisted as much sail as possible, in order to come up with, and engage him.

The eager desire of seizing riches, a passion much stronger than the principle of duty, which directs to preserve them for their sovereign, the experience of the English, and the skilful operations of the commodore, procured him the victory. But two of his men were killed in the fight; the galleon lost sixty-seven, who were slain upon deck, and eighty-four were wounded. The number of his crew still surpassed that of the commodore's: however, he thought proper to strike. The conqueror returned to Canton with this rich prize. He there maintained the honour of his country, by refusing to pay the imposts exacted by the emperor of China from all foreign ships; he insisted that a man of war was not subject to them. His conduct overawed the Chinese; the governor of Canton gave him an audience, to which he was conducted through two ranks of soldiers, whose number amounted to ten thousand; after which he returned to his own country, by the Sunda Islands and the Cape of Good Hope. Having thus sailed round the world victorious, he landed in England the 4th of June 1744, after a voyage of three years and a half.

He caused the riches he had taken to be carried to London in triumph, in thirty-two waggons, amidst the acclamations of the people, with drums beating and trumpets sounding. His different prizes amounted in gold and silver to ten millions, French money; these were the recompence of the commodore, his officers, his sailors and soldiers, without the king's enjoying any share of the fruit of their fatigues and their valour. The wealth, quickly circulating in the nation, contributed

contributed to enable it to support the immense charges of the war *.

C H A P. CXCIH.

Concerning LEWISBOURG, OF CAPE BRETON; and the numerous Prizes taken by the ENGLISH.

ANOTHER enterprize, undertaken some time after that of admiral Anson, sufficiently shews what a trading and warlike nation is capable of. What I at present have in view is the siege of Lewisbourg; this operation was not set on foot by the British ministers; it was the effect of the undaunted resolution of the merchants of New-England. A common merchant, named Vaugan †, proposed to his fellow-citizens of New-England to raise forces in order to besiege Lewisbourg. This thought was received with loud applause. A lottery was made, the profits of which were sufficient to pay a little army of four thousand men. They were armed; they were supplied with provisions; they were furnished with transport-ships, and all at the expence of the inhabitants. They named a general; but they stood in need of the concurrence of the court of London; and still more of a Squadron of men of war. There was no time lost, except what was required to make application for it. The court

* Far from answering this purpose in any considerable degree, the treasure brought home by Mr. Anson did not indemnify the nation for the expence of the armament; and the original design of this expedition was intirely defeated.

† The plan of this conquest was originally layed by Mr. Auchmuty, judge advocate of the court of Admiralty in New England. A body of six thousand men was formed under the conduct of Pepperel, a trader of Piscataway. They were conducted by ten ships of war under Sir Peter Warren, reinforced by eight hundred mariner, and directed in their operations by regular engineers. In a word, the place was reduced, and the people of New England were amply recompensed by the government of their mother country.

court sent admiral Warren with four men of war to second this enterprize of a whole people. Lewisbourg was taken, after having made a vigorous resistance, during fifty days. This is not all. A fatality equally remarkable farther enriched the new possessors of this island. French and Spanish vessels, laden with gold and silver, came, some from the Mogul's country, others from Peru and Mexico, and anchored in that port, the taking of which they were ignorant of. They gave themselves up of their own accord. If war is a game of hazard, as has been said long since, the English won about a hundred millions at this game in the space of one year. They had at one and the same time a fleet in the seas of Scotland and Ireland, one at Spithead, one at the East-Indies, one at Jamaica, one at Antigua, and they fitted out new ones whenever they saw occasion.

France was obliged, during the whole course of this war, to make opposition to so formidable a power with about thirty-five vessels, which were hardly fit for service.

One of the greatest advantages, obtained by the English at sea, was, in the naval engagement of Finisterre*; an engagement in which they took six large vessels belonging to the king, and seven East India ships, fitted out as men of war, four of which surrendered in the fight and three afterwards; these vessels were, in all, manned with four thousand men. London swarms with merchants and sea-faring men, who are much more interested in maritime successes than in all the transactions of Germany or Flanders. The citizens were seized with an inexpressible transport of joy, when they saw the Centurion, so famous for its voyage round the world, enter the Thames; it returned with the news of the victory gained at Cape Finisterre by the same Anson, raised by his merit to the place of vice admiral, and by Admiral Warren. They

* This engagement happened on the third of May, in the year 1746.

They saw twenty-two waggons arrive laden with the gold, silver, and effects, which were taken aboard the French fleet. The loss of these effects, and these vessels, was rated at above twenty millions, French money. The money got by this prize was employed in coining new pieces, the inscription of which was, *Cape Finisterre*; a monument calculated as well to sooth the pride as excite the courage of the nation, and a glorious imitation of the Roman custom of engraving the principal events of the empire upon the current coin, as it were upon medals. This victory was rather happy and profitable than extraordinary. The admirals, Anson and Warren, had, with seventeen ships of the line, engaged six of the king's ships, the best of which was, in its construction, inferior to the most ordinary one of the English fleet.

What seems surprising is, that the marquis de la Jonquiere, commander of that Squadron, had sustained the combat for a long time, and given a company of merchantmen, which he had brought from Martinico, time to escape. The captain of a ship, called the *Windsor*, expressed himself in the following terms concerning that engagement in a letter which he wrote upon the occasion; "I never knew a conduct superior to that of the French commodore; to say truth, all the officers of that nation have manifested an extraordinary courage; none of them yielded till it was become absolutely impossible to work their ships."

The French had but seven men of war left to escort the merchantmen to the American isles, under the command of *Monf. de l'Estanduere*. They were met by fourteen English men of war. They engaged as they had done at *Cape Finisterre*, with the same courage and the same success: the superior number prevailed, and admiral Hawke entered the Thames with six ships out of the seven he had engaged. At that time the maritime power of the king of France was reduced to a single man of war. This made every body sensible of cardinal de Fleury's erroneous conduct, in neglecting to cultivate sea affairs; and this fault has been since repaired.

C H A P. CXCIV.

The FRENCH take MADRASS, and oblige the ENGLISH to raise the siege of PONDICHERRY, &c.

WHILST the English carried their victorious arms over so many seas, and the whole globe was become the theatre of the war, they at last felt the effects of it in their colony of Madras. A person of the name of Bourdonnaie, who was at once a merchant and a warrior, vindicated the honour of the French flag in the remotest part of Asia. Madras, or Fort St. George, upon the coast of Coromandel, is of the same service to the English that Pondicherry is to the French. These two rival towns are but seven or eight leagues distant from each other; and commerce is so extensive in that part of the world, and the industry of the Europeans so much superior to that of the Asiatics, that these two colonies have it in their power to increase their wealth without doing each other any hurt. Mons. de Pleix, governor of Pondicherry, and chief of the French settled in the Indies, had proposed a neutrality to the English company. Nothing could have been more advisable for traders: these offers, made by reason and humanity, were rejected by avarice and pride. The English flattered themselves, and not without some grounds, that it would be as easy for them to conquer on the Indian seas, as they had done elsewhere, and totally to annihilate the French company.

Mons. de la Bourdonnaie was, like the du Quesnes, the Barts, the du Gue-Truins, capable of doing a great deal with an inconsiderable force, and equally versed in commerce and navigation. He was governor of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, which places he was nominated to by the king, and governed them in the name of the company.

These

These isles were become flourishing by his care: in fine, he left the isle of Bourbon with nine ships, fitted out by himself for war, and having on board two thousand three hundred white men, and eight hundred blacks, whom he disciplined himself, and made of them excellent gunners. An English squadron, under the command of captain Barnet*, cruized in that sea, defended Madras, infested Pondicherry, and took a great many prizes. He attacked that squadron, dispersed it, and without loss of time laid siege to Madras.

Deputies came, and represented to him that it was not proper to attack the dominions of the grand mogul. They were entirely in the right; it is a proof of the excess of Asiatic weakness to suffer it, and of European boldness to attempt it. The French landed without resistance; their artillery was brought up before the walls of the ill-fortified town, defended by a garrison of five hundred soldiers. The English settlement consisted of Fort St. George, in which were all the magazines of the White-town, which is inhabited only by Europeans, and of that called the Black-town, peopled with merchants and tradesmen of all the nations of India, Jews, Baniens, Mahometans, idolaters, negroes of different kinds, red Indians, and swarthy Indians; all these taken together amounted to fifty thousand souls.

The governor was soon forced to surrender. The city was ransomed by the payment of eleven hundred thousand pagodas, which sum is equivalent to about nine millions, French money. No individual ever did a service of greater importance to his country. An unhappy misunderstanding between him and the council of Pondicherry deprived France of the fruit of his labours. This man, whose name should

* It was not commodore Barnet, but Peyton, who shamefully declined an engagement with a French squadron of inferior force to his own, and abandoned the settlement of Madras.

should be for ever dear to the nation, was treated at Paris as a criminal. His enemies caused him to be imprisoned in the Bastille: he there languished during three years and a half; but at length the commissioners appointed by the king unanimously pronounced him innocent. France conferred another title upon him; she called him her Revenger. The decree by which he was justified was received with as great acclamations as the French prizes had been at London: the commissioners only restored him his liberty, but the nation by its transports of joy recompensed his past sufferings. Such circumstances as these are more worthy to be transmitted to posterity than many military operations.

He was not the only person who did the state important services in the war, though destined to peaceful employments by his profession. Mr. de Pleix preserved Pondicherry, which the English besieged with forces capable of destroying that great settlement. That city, which was peopled much in the same manner as Madras, was better fortified. Four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon were erected upon its ramparts: there were in it experienced officers, and excellent engineers, with a garrison of about one thousand five hundred French, and two thousand Asiatics, well disciplined and well affected. It had flourished since the year 1725. The company, by a calculation made in 1743, found itself possessed of effects to the value of one hundred and sixty millions. The taking of Pondicherry would have given France a wound that the utmost care would not have been able to close in the space of twenty years.

Admiral Boscawen laid siege to it with about four thousand English or Dutch soldiers, and as many Indians, backed by the greatest part of the sailors aboard his fleet, which consisted of one and twenty ships. The French did not confine themselves within their walls; they made many vigorous sallies, and, after a siege of fifty days, forced the enemy to retire. From that time forward the governor of Pondicherry, always master of Madras, became the protector of the viceroys upon

on the coast of Coromandel. He was himself honoured with the title of viceroy by the Indian emperor: he received from his master the order of St. Lewis, an honour which was never before conferred in France upon any one that was not in the army; but an order below the merits of a man who had rendered the French name respectable in the Indies.

C H A P. CXC.V.

Of ITALY; the Revolution of GENOA; and the Peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

THE war, occasioned by the Austrian succession, resembled a disease which often changes its nature and symptoms. It seemed probable at the beginning of the year 1741, that the queen of Hungary would entirely lose her dominions; and in 1746, the house of Bourbon was upon the point of being deprived of Naples and Sicily, which belonged to Don Carlos, and of the duchy of Parma, which was the inheritance of Don Philip, his brother. Both these princes were sons of Philip V. king of Spain, and great grandsons of Lewis XIV. Both were settled in Italy, through the happy consequences of the efforts made by Lewis XIV. in order to preserve the throne to Philip V.

The duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, in conjunction with the new house of Austria, and the English, made war against Lewis XV. after having made it for him in the year 1733, just as his father had by turns fought for and against Lewis XIV. And in Italy the same efforts were exerted in order to the establishing there the power of foreign nations, which have been constantly seen in that country, since the subversion of the Roman empire.

Rome frequently beheld the German, Spanish, and Neapolitan troops upon its territories. The king of Sardinia and the Austrians, in 1746; conquered all before them, from the frontiers of Naples to those of France.

France. The French and Spaniards lost the most flourishing armies, notwithstanding the successful campaigns which the prince of Conti had made upon the Alps. But the most extraordinary accident that happened during this adverse fortune was the revolution of Genoa; whatever else came to pass had a precedent, but this event had none.

The republic of Genoa had implored the protection of France in this almost universal war. Genoa does not, like the city of Milan, lie under the necessity of delivering up its keys to whoever approaches it with an army. Besides its own compass, it has another inclosure, formed upon a chain of rocks. Beyond this double inclosure the Appenine mountains serve to fortify it round. The post of Bochetta, by which the enemy advanced, had always been looked upon as impregnable; and yet the troops who guarded that post made no resistance, but went off to join the French and Spanish army by Ventimille. The consternation of the Genoese did not allow them even to attempt a defence. They had a considerable quantity of artillery, the enemy had no guns fit to be used at a siege; but they did not wait the coming of that cannon, and terror hurried them into all the perplexity which they dreaded. The senate precipitately sent four senators to the defiles of the mountains, where the Austrians were encamped, in order to receive from the marquis de Botta Adorno, a native of Milan, who commanded the troops of the empress queen, whatever laws he should think proper to subject them to. They consented to give up their city in twenty-four hours, as likewise all the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans in it, together with the effects which might belong to the subjects of France, Spain, and Naples. It was expressly stipulated, that four senators should go as hostages to Milan; that the doge and six other senators should repair to Vienna in the space of a month, to ask pardon for their past transgressions; that they should pay directly 50,000 Genovines, which make about four hundred thousand livres in France, till the conquerors should determine

termine what further contributions to require of them.

It was remembered upon this occasion, that Lewis XIV. formerly insisted upon the doge of Genoa coming to Versailles, accompanied by four senators, in order to apologize for his conduct: two were added upon the empress queen's account; but she picqued herself upon refusing what Lewis XIV. had exacted. She was of opinion that no great glory was to be acquired by mortifying the weak; and therefore made it her chief care to levy upon the Genoese considerable contributions, of which she stood more in need than of the empty honour of seeing the doge of the republic of Genoa at the foot of the imperial throne. Genoa was taxed twenty-four millions of livres, which was enough to ruin it entirely. This republic little expected, when the war for the Austrian succession began, that she would prove a victim to it; but as soon as the principal states of Europe have taken up arms, every petty state should tremble.

Genoa had already paid sixteen millions; the rest was rigorously exacted, and the victors lived at the expence of the vanquished in their houses. In fine, this very people that had voluntarily submitted to the yoke; that had surrendered at discretion whilst it had still defenders remaining; that had patiently suffered itself to be deprived of its own property, at length took courage when it had neither hope nor resource.

The Austrians took the artillery belonging to the town in order to convey it to Provence, into which country the armies of the empress queen and the king of Sardinia had penetrated. The Genoese themselves helped to carry the pieces of cannon of which they were deprived. An Austrian officer one day struck with his cane a common fellow who was a little tardy in doing this service; upon this the whole populace assembles in a body, runs to arms, falls upon its conquerors in the streets and public places, with whatever weapon first offers itself. They march to the repository of arms, while the senate, filled with irresolution, did not dare publicly to second their efforts. They arm themselves

selves regularly, and being rendered soldiers by despair, drive the Austrians from the gates which they guarded: they then name their chiefs. The consternation with which the Genoese had been so long daunted now enters the breast of their new masters. The peasants of the parts adjacent, being animated by the example of the citizens, assemble to the number of fifteen or sixteen thousand. A prince named Doria, descended from a family to which Genoa had been more than once indebted for its preservation, attacks general Botta in St. Peter des Arenes; the Austrians fly, one thousand of them being slain, and three thousand taken prisoners: they abandon their magazines and their baggage; they repass the Bochetta, and quit the territories of Genoa.

This extraordinary revolution contributed greatly to deliver Provence from the armies of Austria and Piedmont, which ravaged it and menaced Marseilles. The provisions which that victorious army thought to procure from Genoa entirely failed it. The marshal de Belleisle, so much celebrated for the retreat he made from Prague to Egra in 1742, during the misfortunes of the emperor Charles VII. and of the French in Bohemia, had time to arrive with an army, and to force the enemy to fly from Provence, and to pass the Var.

These being driven out of Provence, soon fell upon Genoa: she was again upon the point of losing that liberty which she had recovered in so singular a manner.

She was blocked up; an English fleet sailed up to her port. There were divisions between the senate and people, which might prove much more dangerous than the Austrians, the Piedmontese, and the English. She had not where-withal to pay the few regular troops which she had raised so precipitately.

The court of Spain promised assistance; the king of France furnished her with men and money: the galleys of Toulon arrived with about five thousand French, notwithstanding the English fleet. The duke de Boufflers arrived with fresh succours; he was son to the marshal de Boufflers who had served so bravely under
Lewis

Lewis XIV. and he was worthy of such a father; but he died at Genoa of the small-pox, on the same day that the enemy, disconcerted by the measures he had taken, retired to a considerable distance from the town.

They soon after returned, and with much greater forces than at first. The duke of Richelieu, who succeeded the duke de Boufflers, saved Genoa; and the senate, which was indebted to him for its liberty, caused a statue to be erected to his honour.

In this flux of fortunate and unfortunate events, a brother of marshal de Belleisle lost part of his army, and was killed in attacking the Piedmontese, who had intrenched themselves in a defile of Piedmont. But Lewis XV. repaired all by his victories in the Low Countries. Maestricht was upon the point of surrendering to marshal Saxe, who laid siege to it after the most skilful march which had ever been made by any general, and from thence went directly to Nimeguen. The Dutch were in great consternation; about thirty-five thousand of their soldiers were prisoners of war in France. That republic seemed to be threatened with disasters much greater than those of the year 1672; but what France gained in one place she lost in another: her colonies were exposed, her commerce was perishing, and she had no more men of war left. All the nations engaged in war suffered, and all stood in need of peace, as they did in the preceding wars. Near seven thousand merchant ships, belonging either to France, Spain, England, or Holland, had been taken during the course of these reciprocal depredations: and it is reasonable to conclude from thence that about fifty thousand families had suffered considerable losses. Add to all these calamities the multitude of the slain, and the difficulty of raising recruits: this is the natural consequence of every war. One half of Germany and Italy was ravaged, together with the Low Countries; and to increase and prolong all these misfortunes, thirty-five thousand Russians, allured by the gold of England and Holland, were already arrived in Franconia. The French were upon the point of seeing upon their frontiers

tiers the same troops that had vanquished the Turks and Swedes.

What characterized this war in a particular manner was, that Lewis XV. after every victory he gained had offered peace, which was constantly rejected. But when the enemy saw at length that Maestricht was likely to have the same fate with Bergen-op-zoom, and that Holland was in danger, they asked that peace which was become necessary to all mankind.

One of the plenipotentiaries of France at the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle began by declaring, that he came to fulfil the promise of his master, whose intention was to make peace like a king, and not like a merchant.

Lewis XV. asked nothing for himself; but he did all he could for his allies. By this peace he secured the two Sicilies to Don Carlos, a prince of his own family; he settled in Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, Don Philip, his son-in-law; the duke of Modena, his ally, and son-in-law to the duke of Orleans, the late regent, was reinstated in the possession of his country, which he had lost by espousing the cause of France. Genoa recovered all her privileges. It appeared more noble, and even more profitable to the court of France, to think of nothing but the welfare of her allies, than to procure two or three towns in Flanders, which would have given rise to constant jealousies.

England, which had engaged in this universal war, merely on account of a single ship, lost many men, and much treasure by it; and the dispute concerning the vessel still remained undecided. The king of Prussia gained greater advantages than any power concerned in the war: he preserved the conquest of Silesia at a time when it was a received maxim amongst all potentates, not to suffer the aggrandizement of any prince. Next to the king of Prussia, the duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, was the greatest gainer; the queen of Hungary having purchased his alliance with part of the duchy of Milan.

After this peace France recovered its strength in the same manner as after the peace of Utrecht, and even became more flourishing. In this period Christendom was divided between two great parties, which were a check upon each other, and equally contributed to support the balance of Europe, that pretext of many wars which ought to secure an eternal peace. The states of the empress queen of Hungary and part of Germany, Russia, England, Holland, and Sardinia, composed one of these great factions. The other was formed by France, Spain, the two Sicilies, Prussia, and Sweden. All the powers continued in arms, and it was hoped that a lasting repose would spring from the fear with which one half of Europe inspired the other.

Lewis XIV. was the first, who kept on foot armies extremely numerous, which forced other princes to make an effort to do the same ; so that after the peace of Aix-la-chapelle the Christian powers of Europe had about a million of men under arms ; and they flattered themselves that none would presume to break the peace for a long time, because every state was armed in its defence.

C H A P. CXCVI.

Concerning the War between FRANCE and ENGLAND
in 1756.

IN the midst of this peace, founded upon the preparation for war, the jealousies of the several states, and the efforts of so many princes, an unexpected event changed for some time this great system established by distrust, and time will soon give it a new face. A slight difference between France and England, occasioned by some uncultivated lands belonging to Canada, inspired all the sovereigns of Europe with a new plan of policy. It is unnecessary to observe, that this difference

ference owed its rise to the negligence of all the ministers, who in 1712 and 1713 negotiated the treaty of Utrecht. France had, by this treaty, yielded to England Acadia, which bordered upon Canada, with all its antient boundaries; these they were not very well acquainted with; this is an oversight which was never committed in a contract between private persons. Disputes were the natural result of this omission. If philosophy and justice had any influence in the differences of mankind, they would have convinced them, that the French and English contended for a country to which they had no right: but abstract reasoning is of no consequence in worldly affairs. The English laid claim to the whole country as far as the borders of Canada, and would have annihilated the commerce of France in that part of America. Their rich and populous colonies rendered them greatly superior to the French in North America; their fleets made them still more so at sea; and having destroyed the maritime power of France in the war of 1741, they flattered themselves that nothing could resist them, either in the new world, or upon our seas: they were mistaken, however, at least it has hitherto appeared so.

They began hostilities in the year 1755*, by attacking the French upon the confines of Canada; and,

K 2

without

* By this very partial representation, one would be apt to believe that the English began the war from motives of avarice and ambition, without having received the least disturbance or provocation from the French. But, immediately after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, even while the commissaries of both nations were conferring together at Paris, in order to settle the limits of Acadia, the French invaded Nova Scotia, expelled the English inhabitants, and built the fort Beau Sejour upon the ground that was then in litigation. They excited the Indians to harass the infant colony of Nova Scotia; and the French neutrals of that country openly rebelled against the English government, appearing in arms under the command of a French officer called Le Corne. Not contented with these scandalous encroachments, they raised forts at Niagara, and in the neighbourhood of the Ohio, upon lands belonging to the Indians, whom they themselves had acknowledged in an express article of the treaty of Utrecht, to be subjects of Great Britain.

Nay,

without any previous declaration of war, they took above three hundred merchant-ships, just as if they were vessels that carried on a contraband trade, they likewise seized some vessels belonging to other nations, which carried merchandize to the French. The king of France at this juncture observed a conduct quite different to that of Lewis XIV. He at first contented himself with demanding satisfaction, and did not allow his subjects even to cruize against the English.

Lewis XIV. often spoke to other courts with an air of superiority. Lewis XV. made the superiority affected by the English evident to all other courts. Lewis XIV. had been reproached with an ambition which aimed at universal monarchy; Lewis XV. made it appear, that the English aimed at being monarchs of the sea in effect. All nations then wished to see the power of England reduced, as they had before desired to see the pride of Lewis XIV. humbled.

In the mean time Lewis XV. took the best measures to procure a just revenge; his troops defeated the English in 1755 upon the confines of Canada*; he prepared a formidable fleet in his ports, and he proposed to

attack
Nay, they completed a chain of fortifications from Canada to the river Mississippi, so as to hem in all the British colonies, and cut off all communication between them and the inland parts of America. In the year 1754, the French began hostilities on the Ohio, by surprising and plundering Logg Town, and an English fort on the forks of the river Monongahela. They had, previous to this event, made several English traders prisoners, and even sent them to France, and when representations on the subject of these outrages were made by the British ambassador at the court of Versailles, he received nothing but evasive answers. In the year 1755, before a ship sailed from England, certain intelligence was brought, that a powerful French Squadron with frigates and transports, containing a great number of land forces, was ready to sail from Brest for Canada: then indeed an English fleet was equipped to anticipate and frustrate the designs of that Squadron.

* These troops were commanded by Braddock, an officer altogether unequal to that command, who fell into an ambuscade in the neighbourhood of Fort Du Quesne near the Ohio, and perished with a good number of officers and soldiers. What is very remarkable, the English never saw the faces of their enemies, who lay concealed behind trees and bushes, from whence they fired with great deliberation, until the British troops were broken, and began to retreat in disorder; then they shewed themselves to the number of a few hundreds, and appeared to be chiefly Indians.

attack George II. king of England by land in his electorate of Hanover. This invasion of Germany threatened Europe with the flame of war, the first spark of which took fire in America. Upon this occasion the whole system of Europe's politics was changed. The king of England prepared to oppose the French in Germany with thirty thousand Russians, who were to be paid by him. The Russian empire was in alliance with the emperor and the empress-queen of Hungary. The king of Prussia had reason to apprehend that the Russians, the Imperialists, and Hanoverians, would fall upon him at the same time. He had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men; he did not hesitate a moment to join with the king of England, to prevent the Russians from entering Germany on the one hand, and to cut off the passage of the French troops on the other. This step had an effect, which the king of Prussia did not desire, and which nobody expected; it reconciled the houses of Bourbon and Austria, an union which so many negotiations and marriages had not been able to bring about: thus, what was never hoped for since Charles V.'s accession to the empire, was effected without difficulty about two hundred years after, by a disgust which France conceived against a prince of the empire. The houses of Bourbon and Austria were united by a defensive league, but without any one's being able to foresee the consequence of this so much wished for union.

But treaties alone were not sufficient to revenge the king of France for the depredations of England: he procured with ease, and in a moment, all the money he had occasion for, by one of those prompt expedients which are not known except in such opulent countries as France. The money raised by creating twenty new farmers of the revenue, with a few loans, was sufficient to support the war during the first years, whilst Great Britain exhausted herself by exorbitant taxes *.

K 3

Afeint

* The course of the war has demonstrated, how far Great Britain was at that time exhausted. But we must give our author leave to write like a Frenchman.

A feint was made of invading the coasts of England. This period was very unlike that in which queen Elizabeth, supported only by her English subjects, having every thing to fear from Scotland, and being scarce able to keep Ireland in subjection, baffled the prodigious efforts of Philip II.

George II. king of England, thought it necessary to bring over the Hanoverians and Hessians, in order to defend his coasts. The English, who had not foreseen this consequence of the war, murmured to find their country over-run with strangers, the haughtiness of many citizens was converted into fear, and they began to tremble for their liberty.

The English government had made a mistake with regard to the designs of France : it dreaded an invasion, and never once thought of the island of Minorca, which had cost such vast sums, in the war concerning the Spanish succession. The English, as the reader has been already informed, had taken Minorca from the Spaniards. The possession of that conquest, secured by all the treaties, was of greater importance to them than Gibraltar, which is not a port, and made them masters of the Mediterranean Sea. The king of France, about the latter end of April 1756, sent the marshal duke of Richelieu to that island with about twenty battalions, escorted by twelve first-rate men of war, and a few frigates, which the English did not expect to see fitted out so soon : all things were ready at the proper time, and the English were unprepared in every thing. However, in the month of June 1756, they attempted, when it was too late, to attack the French fleet commanded by the marquis de Galissoniere. Had they been successful in this battle, they would not thereby have preserved the island of Minorca, but they would have saved their reputation. Their attempt however was fruitless ; the marquis de la Galissoniere repulsed and put their fleet in disorder *. The English ministry
saw

* The French commander was so far from repulsing the British squadron on this occasion, that he bore away from it, and left an undisputed victory to the English.

saw with grief that they had laid France under a necessity of establishing a formidable navy.

The English however still retained hopes of defending the citadel of Port-Mahon, which was considered as the strongest place in Europe next to Gibraltar, both by its situation, the nature of the ground upon which it stood, and thirty years care, which was bestowed upon its fortifications. It was every where a smooth rock, with trenches twenty feet, and in some places thirty feet deep cut into it; there were eighty mines under the works before which it was impossible to open trenches: every thing was impenetrable to cannon-balls, and the citadel was every where surrounded by external fortifications, cut out of the rock itself.

The marshal de Richelieu attempted an enterprize more bold than that against Bergen-op-zoom; this was to make an assault at the same time upon all the works that defended the body of the place.

The French troops entered the trenches, notwithstanding the fire of the English artillery; they planted ladders thirteen feet high against the walls: the officers and soldiers having ascended to the last step, sprung upon the rock, by mounting upon each other's shoulders: it was by this inconceivable boldness they made themselves masters of all the out-works. The troops exerted surprising courage, as they were to engage three thousand English, seconded by all that nature and art could do to defend them.

The next day the place surrendered. The English were unable to conceive how the French could force those trenches, into which a man in cold blood would find it impossible to descend.

The general and the French nation acquired great honour by this action*. With it we shall conclude

K 4

this

* One cannot help smiling to see our author finish his history of the war at the very period when fortune turned tail to his countrymen. He might, however, in decency, have mentioned the defeat of the French forces in America and the capture of their general Dieskau, by Sir William Johnson, at the head of a small body of Provincials; an action that more than balanced the check which

this slight sketch of a general view of Europe from the death of Lewis XIV. All these events will be one day obscured by the multitude of revolutions to which revolving ages will give birth: but the age of Lewis XIV. will flourish during all ages, through the influence of the elegant arts, which will reflect lasting glory upon it.

If the useful arts, to which we owe the conveniences of life; and the polite arts, which render it agreeable by improving the human mind, had not distinguished this age, it would, like others, be nothing more than a lively picture of the vicissitudes and calamities of mankind. What is there to be met with in the history of Europe down from the ministry of the Richelieus, the Buckinghams, the Olivarezes, and the Oxensterns, but countries a long time laid waste by civil and foreign wars, or kings, princes, and ministers, dying upon a scaffold, or in prison?

Those, who chuse to add to the perusal of this reign that of the life of Charles XII. which contains every thing that relates to the czar Peter I. will find, that, had it not been for a native of Geneva, who aided the natural genius of that emperor, Russia would still have been in a state of barbarism.

They will there see a magnificent city rise from the midst of a marsh; fleets built in places where a single boat had never been seen before; a society regulated amongst a people to whom its very name had been unknown. Ambition and court-intrigues have there produced great misfortunes as well as in other nations: but political œconomy became general, and the improvement of the arts have prevented this country from being plunged again into its original chaos.

We have just seen a bloody scene in Sweden during the month of June 1756; citizens put to death by their fellow citizens, for having rashly attempted to change the constitution; but in the midst of these calamities,

which the English under Braddock had received. Indeed we cannot help observing, that our author's sketch of the present war is extremely defective and unsatisfactory.

lamities, and of all the uneasinesses that attended them, a work was undertaken in imitation of the canal of Languedoc, not less extraordinary than its model, by which a passage was opened for ships from the ocean to the Baltick sea, without their being under a necessity of entering the streights of the Sound.

Were we to consider the age of Lewis XIV. only with a view to the wars sustained by that monarch, we should meet with two esteemed unjust, a third occasioned by the two first, and a fourth that ruined France; in which wars above two millions of men were killed in battle, and as many perished miserably. But if we descend into the particulars of government, we shall see a variety of establishments, which, at this day, constitute the glory and happiness of the nation.

Before we enter into these details so interesting to every citizen, it may not be improper to take a cursory view of the court anecdotes, which seem to furnish nothing but amusement, though a judicious reader may from thence derive the most instructive lessons.

C H A P. CXCVII.

Private ANECDOTES of the REIGN of LEWIS XIV.

ANECDOTES are a sort of confined field, where we glean after the plentiful harvest of history: they are small narratives, which have long been secreted, whence they receive the name of anecdotes, and when they concern any illustrious personages, are sure to engage the public attention.

Plutarch's lives are but a collection of anecdotes, rather entertaining than true: how could he have procured faithful accounts of the private life of Theseus or Lycurgus? Most of the maxims, which he puts into

the mouths of his heroes, advance moral virtue rather than historical truth.

The secret history of Justinian, by Procopius, is a satire dictated by revenge ; and tho' revenge may speak the truth, this satire, which contradicts his public history, has not always the appearance of it.

We now are not allowed to imitate even Plutarch, much less Procopius. We admit none as historical truths, but what are well supported. When cotemporaries, like the cardinal of Retz and the duke of Rochefoucault, inveterate enemies to each other, confirm the same transaction in both their accounts of it, that transaction cannot be doubted : when they contradict each other, we must doubt them : what does not come within the bounds of probability, can deserve no credit, unless several cotemporaries of unblemished reputation join unanimously in the assertion.

The most useful and most valuable anecdotes, are those secret papers which great princes leave behind them, in which their minds have thrown off all reserve. Such are those I am now going to relate of Lewis XIV.

Domestic occurrences only amuse the curious : the discovery of weaknesses only entertains the malignant, except where these weaknesses instruct, either by their fatal consequences, or those virtues which prevented the impending misfortune.

Secret anecdotes of cotemporaries are liable to the charge of partiality : they, who write at any considerable distance of time, should use the greatest circumspection, should discard what is trifling, reduce what is extravagant, and soften what is satirical.

Lewis XIV. was so magnificent in his court, as well as reign, that the least particulars of his private life seem to interest posterity, as they drew the attention of all the courts of Europe, and of all his cotemporaries. The splendor of his government threw a light on his most trivial actions. We are more eager, especially in France, to know the transactions of his court, than the revolutions of other states. Such is the effect of a great reputation ! We had rather be inform-
ed

ed of what passed in the cabinet and court of Augustus, than hear a full detail of the conquests of Attila or Tamerlane.

Hence all, who have written the history of Lewis XIV. have been very exact in dating his first attachment to the baroness of Beauvais, to mademoiselle d'Argencourt, to cardinal Mazarine's niece, who was married to the count of Soissons, prince Eugene's father; and quite elaborate in setting forth his passion for Maria Mancini, that prince's sister, who was afterwards married to the constable Colonna.

He had not assumed the reins of empire, when these amusements busied and plunged him into that languid state, in which cardinal Mazarine, who governed with a despotic sway, permitted him to remain. His bare attachment to Maria Mancini was an affair of great importance; for he was so passionately fond of her, as to be tempted to marry her, and yet was sufficient master of himself to quit her entirely. This victory, which he gained over his passion, made the first discovery of the greatness of his soul; he gained a more severe and difficult conquest in leaving the cardinal Mazarine in possession of absolute sway. Gratitude prevented him from shaking off that yoke, which now began to grow too heavy. It was a well known anecdote at court, that after the cardinal's death, he said, "I do not know what I should have done, had he lived any longer. *"

He employed himself in this season of leisure with reading books of entertainment, and especially in company with the constable, who had a facetious turn as well as his sisters. He delighted in poetry and romances

* This anecdote is attested by the memoirs of LaPorte, page 255, and we therefore, that the king had taken an aversion to the cardinal; that that minister, though his relation, and entrusted with the charge of his education, had taken no care to improve him, and had often left him in want of common necessities. He adds much heavier accusations, which reflect dishonour on the cardinal's memory; but they do not appear to be proved, and no accusation should be admitted without it.

mances, which secretly flattered his own character, by pointing out the beauty of gallantry and heroism. He read the tragedies of Corneille, and formed to himself that taste which was only the result of solid sense, and of that readiness of sentiment which is the characteristic of a real genius.

The conversation of his mother and the court ladies contributed very much to give him this taste, and form him to that peculiar delicacy, which began now to distinguish the court of France. Anne of Austria had brought with her a kind of generous and bold gallantry, not unlike the Spanish dispositions in those days: to this she had added politeness, sweetness, and a decent liberty, peculiar to the French only. The king made a greater progress in this school of entertainment from eighteen to twenty, than he had all his life in that of the sciences under his tutor, the Abbé of Beaumont, afterwards archbishop of Paris: he had very little learning of this last sort. It were to have been wished he had at least been instructed in history, especially the modern; but what they had at that time was very indifferently written. He was uneasy at having perused nothing but idle romances, and the disagreeableness he found in necessary studies. A translation of Cæsar's commentaries was printed in his name, and one of Florus in that of his brother; but those princes had no other hand in them, than having thrown away their time in writing a few observations on some passages in those authors.

He, who was chief director of the king's education under the first marshal Villeroi his governor, was well qualified for the task, was learned and agreeable; but the civil wars spoiled his education; and cardinal Mazarine was content he should be kept in the dark. When he conceived a passion for Maria Mancini, he soon learned Italian to converse with her, and at his marriage he applied himself to Spanish, but with less success. His neglect of study in his youth, a fearfulness proceeding from the dread of exposing himself, and the ignorance in which cardinal Mazarine kept him,
persuaded

persuaded the whole court, that he would make just such a king as his father Lewis XIII.

There was only one circumstance, from which those, capable of forming a judgment of future events, could foresee the figure he would make : this was in 1653, after the civil wars, after his first campaign and consecration, when the parliament were about to meet on account of some edicts : the king went from Vincennes in a hunting dress, attended by his whole court, and entering the parliament chamber in jack boots, and his whip in his hand, made use of these very words : " The mischiefs your assemblies produce are well known : I command you to break up those you have begun upon my edicts. Mr. President, I forbid you to permit these assemblies, and any of you to demand them *."

His height already majestic, his noble action, the masterly tone and air he spoke with, affected them more than the authority due to his rank, which hitherto they had not much respected : but these blossoms of his greatness seemed to fall off the moment after ; nor did the fruits appear till after the cardinal's death.

The court, after the triumphant return of Mazarine, amused itself with plays, with balls, with comedies, which, being but just produced in France, had not grown into an art ; and with tragedies, which were now a sublime science, through the management of Peter Corneille. A †curate of St. Germain, who inclined towards the rigorous principles of the Jansenists, had frequently wrote to the queen against these shows, from the very beginning of her regency. He pretended, that those were damned who attended them, and had this anathema signed by seven doctors of the Sorbonne : but the abbé Beaumont, the king's preceptor, defended them by the approbation of more doctors than

* These words, faithfully copied, are in all the authentic journals of those times : it is neither allowable to omit or change a word in them in any history of France. The author of M. de M. makes a bold conjecture in his note. " His speech was not quite so good, but his eyes spoke more sensibly than his mouth.

† The cures or curates in France are their parish ministers.

than the rigid priest could procure to condemn them. Thus he quieted the queen's scruples; and when he was archbishop of Paris, gave the sanction of authority to that opinion, which he had defended when only an abbe.

I must observe, that after cardinal Richelieu had introduced at court several plays, which have at last raised Paris to rival Athens, there was not only a bench appointed for academies, (in which body were several ecclesiastics) but one in particular for the bishops.

Cardinal Mazarine, in 1646 and 1654, had Italian operas performed by voices which he brought from Italy, in the theatre of the royal palace, and at the little Bourbon near the Louvre. This new entertainment had just arisen at Florence, a country favoured at that time by fortune as well as nature, to which we owe the revival of many arts, lost in the preceding centuries, and the invention of new ones. France shewed some relics of her antient barbarity in opposing the establishment of these arts.

The Jansenists, whom the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine wanted to keep under, revenged themselves upon these diversions, which these two ministers had introduced. The Lutherans and Calvinists had acted the same part in pope Leo X's time. Besides, their opposition was sufficient to gain them the character of austerity. The same men, who would overturn a state to establish opinions frequently absurd, anathematized the innocent pleasures necessary in so large a city, and the arts which contributed to the splendor of the nation. Abolishing these diversions was an act more worthy the age of Attila than that of Lewis XIV.

Dancing, which may now be reckoned among the arts*, because it is tied down to rules, and adds grace

* Cardinal Richelieu had already given balls, but they were without taste, as were all entertainments before his time. The French, who have now carried the art of dancing to perfection, had only a few Spanish dances in the minority of Lewis XIV. as the sarabande, the courante, &c.

grace to motion, was one of the greatest amusements of the court. Lewis XIII. had only danced once at a ball in 1625; and that ball was in so bad a taste, that it did not in the least presage the appearance this art made in France thirty years after. Lewis XIV. excelled in grave dances, which were agreeable to the majesty of his figure, and did not injure that of his rank. At the running at the ring, which was sometimes performed with great splendor, he shewed that peculiar dexterity which he had at all exercises. Pleasure and magnificence, such as they then were, diffused themselves universally; but they were nothing in comparison of what appeared when the king sat on the throne; and yet might be reckoned amazing, after the horrors of a civil war, and the dulness of the retired and melancholy life of Lewis XIII. That prince, without health and spirits, had neither been attended, lodged, or equipped as a king. He had not above an hundred thousand crowns worth of jewels belonging to the crown: cardinal Mazarine little more than doubled that sum, and now we have jewels to the amount of above twenty millions of livres.

At the marriage of Lewis XIV. every thing assumed an air of the highest taste and magnificence, and this increased daily. When he made 1660. his entry with his queen consort, Paris saw, with a respectful and tender admiration, that beautiful young queen, drawn in a superb car, of a new invention: the king rode on horseback by her side, adorned with all that art could add to his manly and heroic beauty, which drew universal attention. At the end of the streets of Vincennes a triumphal arch was built, the foundation of which was stone, but the shortness of the time would not permit them to finish it with such durable materials; the rest was only plaister, and has since been entirely pulled down. The design was given by Claude Perrault. The gate of St. Anthony was rebuilt for the same ceremony; a monument of no very noble taste, but adorned with some good pieces of sculpture. All, who had seen the day of the battle of
St.

St. Anthony, and the dead and dying bodies of the citizens brought to Paris thro' this gate, then furnished with a portcullis, and who beheld this entry so extremely different, blessed heaven, and returned their thanks for so happy a change.

Cardinal Mazarine added to the solemnity of this marriage the representation of an Italian opera in the Louvre, called *Hercules in Love*. This did not please the French. They saw nothing in it that entertained them, but the king and queen, who danced. The cardinal wanted to signalize himself by a play more to the taste of the nation. The secretary of state at Lyons undertook to have a sort of allegorical tragedy after the taste of that of Europa, in which cardinal Richelieu had some hand. The great Corneille was happy in not being chosen to work upon such poor materials. The subject was *Lisis* and *Hesperia*. *Lisis* signified France, and *Hesperia* Spain. Quinault was set to work upon it, who had just raised himself a reputation by his *Falsè Tiberinus*, which, though a bad piece, had amazing success. The *Lisis* had not the same fate. It was acted at the Louvre, and had nothing good in it but the machinery. The marquis of Sourdiac, of the name of Rieux, to whom France was afterwards indebted for the establishment of the opera, acted at the same time, at his own expence, in his castle of Newbourg, *The Golden Fleece*, by Peter Corneille, with machinery. Quinault, a youth of a genteel figure, was supported by the court; Corneille by his name and the nation. There was one continued train of feasts, pleasures and gallantry from the king's marriage, which encreased on that of the king's brother with Henrietta of England, sister of Charles II. and was not interrupted till the death of cardinal Mazarine in 1661.

Some months after the death of this minister, an event happened, which was not to be paralleled; and what is no less strange, is unnoticed by all the historians. An unknown prisoner, of a majestic height, young, of a graceful and noble figure, was sent with the utmost secrecy to the castle on St. Margaret's Island,

land, in the see of Provence. This prisoner, on the road wore a mask, the chin of which was composed of steel springs, which gave him liberty to eat with his mask on. Orders were given to kill him if he discovered himself. He remained in the island, till an officer of tried fidelity, named St. Mars, governor of Pignerol, was made governor of the Bastile in 1690. He went to the island of St. Margaret, and brought him to the Bastile with his mask on all the way. The marquis de Louvois went to see him in that island before his departure, and spoke to him with great respect, and without sitting down. This stranger was brought to the Bastile, and lodged as well as he could be in that castle. He was refused nothing that he desired. His greatest pleasure was in extraordinary fine linen and laces. He played on the guittar. He was much caressed, and the governor seldom sat down in his presence. An old physician of the Bastile, who had frequently attended this strange gentleman in his illness, declared he never saw his face, though he had frequently examined his tongue, and other parts of his body. This physician said, that he was rather brown, but extremely well made. The very tone of his voice was engaging, but he never complained of his situation, nor ever discovered who he was *.

This stranger died in 1704, and was buried at night in the parish of St. Paul. What redoubles our astonishment is, that when he was sent to the isle of St. Margaret, no person of any consequence disappeared in Europe. This prisoner was, however, doubtless a man of high rank, for, on his first arrival in the island, the governor himself set the silver plates upon his table, and then retired, after securing the door. One day the prisoner wrote upon a silver plate with the point of a knife, and threw the plate out of the window towards a boat which was on the river, near the foot of the tower. A fisherman, to whom the boat belonged,

* A famous surgeon, son-in-law to the physician above mentioned, is witness of what I have said, and Mr. Bernaville, successor of St. Mars, has often confirmed it.

ed, took up the plate, and brought it to the governor. He with great eagerness asked the fisherman, "Have you read what is written upon this plate, or has any one seen it since you had it?" The fisherman answered, "I do not know how to read. I have just found it, and nobody has seen it." The peasant was detained till the governor was convinced, that he never could read, and that the plate had been seen by no other person." "Go, (says he) you are happy in not knowing how to read." There are some very credible witnesses of this fact, who are now living. Mr. Chamillard was the last person, who knew any thing of this strange secret. The second marshal of Feuilade, his son-in-law, told me, that at the death of his father-in-law, he conjured him on his knees to tell him, who that person was who was never known but by the name of the man with the iron mask. Chamillard answered him that it was a secret of state, and that he had taken an oath never to reveal it. In fine, there are many of my cotemporaries, who will attest the truth of what I advance; nor do I know any one fact so extraordinary, and so well supported.

Lewis XIV. in the mean while divided his time between the pleasures agreeable to his age, and the duties of his station. He held a council daily, and then studied in secret with Colbert. This secret labour was the original cause of the disgrace of the famous Fouquet, in which the secretary of state, Guegaud, Pelisson, and many others, were included. The fall of this minister, who perhaps was less to blame than cardinal Mazarine, shewed that all people have not the liberty of committing the same faults. His ruin was already determined, when the king accepted of that magnificent feast which this minister entertained him with in his house of Vaux. This palace and gardens had cost him eighteen millions of livres, which were then as much as thirty-six millions would be now*. He had built the palace twice, and bought three

* The accounts which prove the above were at Vaux, now called Villars, in 1718, and must be there still.

three entire villages, the land of which was all enclosed in these immense gardens, laid out by le Notre, and then esteemed the finest in all Europe. The fountains of Vaux, which made no indifferent appearance after even those of Versailles, of Marly, and St. Cloud, were at that time prodigies. But how grand soever his palace was, the expence of eighteen millions, the accounts of which are now subsisting, shew that he was served with as little œconomy as he served the king. The palaces of St. Germain and Fontainebleau, the only pleasure-houses the king had, certainly were not to be compared with Vaux. Lewis XIV. observed it and was piqued. Throughout the whole house were to be seen the arms of Fouquet: a squirrel, with this motto, *Quo non ascendam?* Where shall I not ascend? The king had it explained to him. The ambition of this device did not contribute to appease the monarch. The courtiers observed, that the squirrel was every where painted as pursued by an adder, which was the arms of Colbert. The entertainment exceeded what cardinal Mazarine had ever given, not only in magnificence, but taste. There, for the first time, was acted the *Impertinents* of Moliere. Pellisson had made the prologue, which was much admired. Public pleasures so often conceal or prepare the court for private disasters, that, had it not been for the queen-mother, the superintendant and Pellisson would have been arrested at Vaux the very day of the feast. What inflamed the resentment of his master was, that mademoiselle la Valiere, for whom the king began to feel a lively passion, had been one of the objects of the superintendant's loose desires, who spared nothing to satisfy them. He had offered La Valiere two hundred thousand livres, which she had rejected with scorn, before she had formed any design upon the heart of the king. The superintendant, soon perceiving what a powerful rival he had, aimed at being the confident of her of whom he could not be the possessor, and this too enraged his majesty.

The king, who in the first heat of his resentment was tempted to arrest the superintendant in the very middle

middle of the entertainment he received from him, afterwards dissembled when it was not necessary. It was said, that the monarch now in full power dreaded Fouquet's party.

He was attorney-general to the parliament, and this office gave him the privilege of being tried by the united chambers. But after so many princes, marshals, and dukes, &c. had been tried by commissaries, they might have given the same treatment to a magistrate, who would make use of such extraordinary measures, as, though they might not really be unjust, might raise a suspicion of their being so.

Colbert persuaded him by no very honourable artifice to sell his office, and he parted with it for twelve hundred thousand livres, which now costs above two millions. The immoderate price of places belonging to the parliament, so greatly diminished in value since that time, shews the high estimation in which this body was still held, even in its state of depression. The duke of Guise, great chamberlain to the king, had not sold this office of the crown to the duke of Bouillon for more than eight hundred thousand livres.

Tho' Fouquet squandered the revenues of the state, and used them as his own proper income, he had still much greatness of soul; what he embezzled, he spent in magnificence and acts of liberality. He caused the money, which he had for his place, to be brought into the king's privy treasury; yet this noble action did not save him. They drew a man by artifice to Nantz, whom one exempt and two soldiers might have seized at Paris. The king caressed him before his disgrace*.

I know not, why most princes commonly affect to deceive, by false appearances of favour, those among their subjects whom they mean to ruin. At such times dissimulation is the opposite to greatness: it never is a virtue, and cannot become a valuable accomplishment, except

* In the same manner James I. of England caressed the earl of Somerset, when he had resolved upon his destruction.

except when absolute necessity enforces it. Lewis XIV. seemed to act out of character : but he was made to understand, that Fouquet was about raising considerable fortifications in Belleisle, and that he possibly might have too many connections, both without and within the kingdom. It plainly appeared, at the time in which he was arrested and carried to the Bastile, and to Vincennes, that the strength of his party lay only in the avarice of some courtiers, and certain women, who received pensions from him, and forgot him the moment he was no longer able to bestow them. The only friends he had left were Pellisson, Gourville, mademoiselle Scudri, such as were involved in his disgrace, and some men of letters. The verses of Hainault, the translator of Lucretius, against Colbert, the persecutor of Fouquet, are well known.

*Ministre avare & lâche, esclave malheureux,
Qui gémit sous le poids des affaires publiques,
Victime dévoué aux chagrins politiques,
Fantôme révéré sous un titre onéreux,
Vois combien des grandeurs le comble est dangereux ;
Contemple de Fouquet les Funestes reliques,
Et tandis qu' à sa perte en secret tu t' appliques ;
Crains qu' on ne te prepare un destin plus affreux
Sa chute quelque jour te peut être commune.
Crain ton poste, ton rang, la cour & la fortune.
Nul ne tombe innocent d' où l' on te voit monté.
Cesse donc d' animer ton prince à son supplice,
En prêt d' avoir besoin de toute sa bonté,
Ne le fais pas user de toute sa justice.*

Base, sordid minister, poor slave misplac'd,
Who groan'st beneath the weight of state affairs,
Devoted sacrifice to public cares,
Vain phantome, with a weary title grac'd ;
The dang'rous point of env'y'd greatness see ;
Of fall'n Fouquet behold the sad remains ;
And, while his fall rewards thy secret pains,
Dread a more dismal fate prepar'd for thee.

Those

Those pangs he suffers thou one day may'st feel;
Thy giddy station dreads the court and fortune's
wheel.

Against him cease thy prince's ire to feed,
From pow'r's steep summit few unhurt descend,
Thyself, perhaps, shall all his mercy need;
Then seek not all his rigour to extend.

Mr. Colbert, as some persons were discoursing with him about this libellous sonnet, asked, whether the king was offended with it? and upon being told he was not, "So neither am I", replied the minister.

It is true, that the commencing of a process against the superintendant would be impeaching the memory of cardinal Mazarine: for the most considerable depredations of the finances were his doings: he, like a despotic sovereign, had appointed to himself several branches of the public revenue; he had treated in his own name, and to his own advantage, for military stores. "He had imposed, says Fouquet, in his defence, by lettres cachet, extraordinary sums on the generalities; which was never done but by him, and for his behalf; a proceeding, which was punishable with death according to the royal ordinances." It was in this manner the cardinal amassed immense riches, and these even unknown to himself.

I have heard the late Mr. de Caumartin, intendant of the finances, relate, that in his youth, some years after the death of the cardinal, he had been in the palais Mazarine, where resided the duke his heir, and the duchess Hortense; that he saw there a large press, or cabinet, which was very deep, and from top to bottom took up the whole height of the closet where it stood. The key had been lost for some time, so that the drawers had been neglected to be opened. Mr. Caumartin, surprised at the oversight, says to the duchess of Mazarin, that probably some curiosities might be found in this press. It was accordingly opened, and was quite full of the coin called quadruples, also gold counters, and medals of the same metal;

of

of this madam Mazarine threw handfuls to the people out at the windows for the space of above eight days together*.

The abuse which cardinal Mazarine made of his arbitrary power did not justify the superintendant; but the irregularity of the proceedings against him; the tediousness of his process; time, which extinguishes public envy, and inspires people's minds with compassion for the unhappy; together with solicitations, always more active in favour of an unfortunate person, than means employed to ruin him: all these together saved his life. Judgment was not given in the process till three years after, in 1664; and, of the twenty-two judges who gave sentence, only nine made it capital. The other thirteen, among which there were some that Gourville † had prevailed on to accept of presents, gave their opinion for perpetual banishment. But the king commuted the punishment into one still more severe; for he was confined in the castle of Pignerol ‡. All the historians say, that he died there in 1680; but Gourville assures us in his memoirs, that he was released from prison some time before his death. The countess of Vaux, his daughter-in-law, had before strongly averred this fact to me, tho' the contrary is believed among his own family. Thus one knows not in what place died an unfortunate man, whose least actions, while he was in power, were striking.

Guenegaud, the secretary of state, who sold his place to Colbert, was no less pursued by the chamber of justice, who stripped him of the greatest part of his fortune.

St. Evremont §, who had a particular friendship for the superintendant, was involved in his disgrace. Colbert,

* I have since found the same story in St. Evremont.

† See Gourville's memoirs.

‡ There he amused himself in composing works of piety.

§ This was the celebrated Charles de St. Denys, lord of St. Evremont, who had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, and wit in conversation. His letter, reflecting on the memory of cardinal Mazarine, being discovered, Lewis ordered him to be imprisoned.

bert, who searched every where for proofs against him, whom he had a mind to ruin, caused some papers to be seized that were entrusted to the care of madam du Plellis Bellievre, among which was found a manuscript letter of St. Evremont, upon the peace of the Pyrennees. This piece of pleasantry, which was represented as a crime against the state, was read to the king. Colbert, who scorned to avenge himself upon Hainault, a person of an obscure character, persecuted in St. Evremont the friend of Fouquet, whom he hated, and the fine genius, which he dreaded. The king was so extremely severe as to punish an innocent piece of raillery composed some time before against cardinal Mazarine, whom he himself had not regretted, and whom the whole court had insulted, reproached, and proscribed for several years with impunity. Among a thousand pieces, written against this minister, the least poignant was the only one which was punished; and that after his death.

St. Evremont, having retired into England, lived and died there with the freedom of a man and a philosopher. The marquis de Miremont, his friend, formerly told me in London, that there was another reason for his disgrace, which St. Evremont would never be prevailed upon to explain.

The new minister of the finances, under the simple title of comptroller-general, justified the severity of his proceedings, in re-establishing the order which his predecessors in office had broken through, and by labouring indefatigably to promote the grandeur of the state.

The court became the centre of pleasure, and the model for the imitation of other courts. The king piqued himself

soned in the Bastille; but, before he could be arrested, he made his escape into Holland, and was invited to England by king Charles II. who gratified him with a pension of three hundred pounds. He lived to enjoy the favour of king William also, and died at London in the year 1703, at the age of ninety. His writings have been admired for the vivacity of his style, the strength and delicacy of his portraits, the justness of his reflections, the elegance of his taste, and the agreeable variety of his expression. They are not, however, without affectation, obscurity, and false fire; and his poetry is but indifferent.

himself upon giving feasts or entertainments, which obliterated the remembrance of that made by the count of Vaux.

It seemed, that nature took delight at that time to produce in France some of the greatest men in all the arts, and to assemble at court the most beautiful and best made persons of both sexes. The king excelled all his courtiers, in the proper dignity of his stature, and the majestic beauty of his features. The tone of his voice, noble and striking, gained those hearts which his presence intimidated. He had a gait which could suit none but himself and his high rank, and would have been ridiculous in any other. The embarrassment into which he threw those who spoke to him flattered secretly the complaisance with which he felt his own superiority. That old officer, who, being somewhat confounded, faltered in his speech on asking him a favour, and being unable to finish his discourse, told him, "Sire, I do not tremble thus before your enemies," easily obtained his demand.

The relish of society had not as yet received all its perfection at court. Anne of Austria, the queen-mother, began to love retirement, the reigning queen hardly understood the French tongue, and goodness constituted her only merit. The princess of England, sister-in-law to the king, brought to court the charms of a soft and animated conversation, which was soon improved by the reading of good books, and by a solid and delicate taste. She perfected herself in the knowledge of the language, which she wrote but badly at the time of her marriage. She inspired an emulation of genius that was new, and introduced at court a politeness, and such graces as the rest of Europe had hardly any idea of. Madame possessed all the vivacity of her brother Charles II. being adorned with the charms of her own sex, and both the power and desire of pleasing. The court of Lewis XIV. breathed a gallantry full of decorum, whilst that, which reigned at the court of Charles II. was of a freer kind, and, being too much unpolished, dishonoured its pleasures.

There passed at first between madame and the king a good deal of that coquetry of wit and secret sympathy, which were observable in little feasts often repeated. The king sent her copies of verses, and she answered him in the like manner. It happened, that the very same person was confident both to the king and madame, in this ingenious commerce ; and this was the marquis de Dangeau. The king gave the marquis in charge to write for him ; and the princess also engaged him to answer the king. He thus served both of them, without giving any grounds of suspicion to the one that he was employed by the other : and this was one of the causes of his making his fortune.

This intelligence had alarmed the royal family, but the king converted the noise made by this commerce into an invariable source of esteem and friendship. When madame afterwards engaged Racine and Corneille to write the tragedy of Berenice, she had in view not only the rupture of the king with the constable Colonne, but the restraint which she herself put upon her own inclinations, lest they should have a dangerous tendency. Lewis XIV. is sufficiently pointed out in these two verses of Racine's Berenice :

*Qu' en quelque obscurité, que le ciel l'eût fait naître,
Le monde, en le voyant, eût reconnu son maître.*

His birth, howe'er obscure, his race unknown,
The world in him its sov'reign chief would own.

These amusements gave way to the more serious, and regularly pursued passion, which he entertained for mademoiselle de la Valiere, maid of honour to madame. He tasted with her the happiness of being beloved purely for his own sake. She had been for two years the secret object of all the gallant amusements and feasts which the king had given. A young valet de chambre to the king, called Belloc, composed several recitatives, intermixed with dances, which were performed sometimes at the queen's, and sometimes at madame's ;
and

and these recitatives mysteriously expressed the secret of their hearts, which soon ceased being any longer so.

All the public diversions which the king gave, were so many pieces of homage paid to his mistress. In 1662 a carousal was performed over against the Tuilleries*, in a space of vast circuit, which on that account still retains the name of la Place du Carrousel. In it were five quadrilles, or parties: the king was at the head of the Romans; his brother at that of the Persians; the prince of Condé of the Turks; the duke d'Enguien, his son, headed the Indians; and the duke of Guise†, the Americans. This duke of Guise was the grandson of Belafre; he had made himself famous in the world for the unfortunate temerity with which he had undertaken to make himself master of Naples. His prison, duels, romantic amours, prodigality, and adventures, rendered him quite singular. He seemed to be a person of another age. It was said of him, upon seeing him run against the great Condé, "Here go the heroes of history and of romance."

The queen-mother, the reigning queen, and the queen of England, dowager of Charles I. ‡ then forgetting her misfortunes, sat under a canopy to view this spectacle. The count de Sault, son to the duke de Lesdiguières, won the prize, and received it from the hands of the queen-mother. Those feasts revived,

L 2

more

* Not in the Place Royale, as the *Histoire de la Hode*, under the name of *Martinière*, has it.

† This Henry, duke of Guise, was designed for the church, provided with a great number of abbeys, and even nominated to the archbishopric of Rheims; but he was stripped of all his benefices by the cardinal de Richelieu. He fought a duel with the count de Coligny, for which he was obliged to retire to Rome, from whence he repared to Naples, in order to command the army of the people who had rebelled against the court of Spain. His adventures on this occasion, were altogether romantic; but in spite of all his courage and efforts, he was taken prisoner, and conveyed to Spain, from whence he was released at the solicitation of the great prince of Condé.

‡ Not Charles II. as the original has it.

more than ever, the taste for devices and emblems, which tournaments had formerly brought into vogue, and which continued after these were no more.

An antiquary, called d'Ouvrier, invented, in 1662, for Lewis XIV. the emblem of the sun, darting its rays upon a globe, with these words, *nec pluribus impar*; i. e. Yet a match for many. The thought was a kind of imitation of a Spanish device made by Philip II. and was more applicable to this king, who possessed the finest part of the new world, and so many states in the old, than to a young king of France, who hitherto gave no more than hopes. This device had prodigious success. The king's cabinets, the moveables of the crown, the tapestries, and sculptures, were all adorned with it; yet the king never carried it in his carousals. Lewis XIV. has been unjustly condemned for the pride of this device, as if he had chosen it himself; and perhaps it has been more justly censured for its foundation. The body does not represent that which the legend signifies; and this legend has not a quite clear and determined sense. That which may be explained several ways does not deserve to be explained by any. Devices, those remains of the ancient chivalry, may suit with feasts, and give some pleasure when these allusions are just, new, and pointed. It is better to have none, than suffer such as are bad and low, like that of Lewis XII. which was a hedge-hog, with these words, *Qui s'y frotte s'y pique*; i. e. He that touches me, galls himself. Devices are, with regard to inscriptions, what masquerades are to more solemn ceremonies.

The feast of Versailles in 1664 surpassed that of the Carousal for its singularity, magnificence, and the pleasures of the mind, which mixing with the splendor of these diversions, added a relish and such charms as no feast had ever yet been embellished with. Versailles began to be a delightful residence, without approaching to the grandeur at which it arrived afterwards.

On the fifth of May the king came hither with a court consisting of six hundred persons, who, with their attendants,

attendants, were entertained at his expence, as were likewise all those employed in preparing these enchanting scenes. There was nothing ever wanting at these feasts but such monuments erected for giving of them, as were constructed by the Greeks and Romans. But the readiness with which they built the theatres, amphitheatres, and porticoes, beautified with as much magnificence as taste, was a wonder which added to the illusion, and which, diversified afterwards in a thousand ways, still augmented the charms of these spectacles.

There was at first a sort of carousal. Those who were to run appeared the first day as in a review; they were preceded by heralds at arms, pages, and squires, who carried the devices and bucklers; and upon the bucklers were written in letters of gold, verses composed by Perigni * and Benferade †: this last es-

L 3

pecially

* The abbe Perrin was a native of Lyons, the first who, by royal patent, established an opera in Paris, in imitation of the Venetian opera. He and his partners erected a theatre in the Rue Mazarine, and in the year 1672, exhibited the pastoral *Pomona*, the poetry by Perrin, and the music by Lambert. Perrin afterwards, quarrelling with his partners, resigned his patent in favour of the famous Lully, who built a new theatre near the palace of the Luxembourg, from whence he in the sequel transferred his company to the hall of the Palais Royal. Perrin, besides several pastorals of five acts, wrote many sonnets, odes, and elegies. He also translated the *Æneid* of Virgil in verse, and enjoyed a considerable share of reputation. His death happened about the year 1680.

† Isaac Benferade was born of a good family, at Lyons, in Normandy, in the year 1612. He soon distinguished himself as a wit, a poet, and a man of gallantry, was gratified with a considerable pension by the queen-mother of Lewis XIV. and lived in great familiarity and esteem with the noblemen of that court. He composed tragedies, comedies, and verses for ballets, which were in great esteem at court, as well as through all France, in the younger days of Lewis. All the wits of that kingdom were divided on the merit of two sonnets, one by Benferade, and the other by Voiture. He was particularly patronized by cardinal Mazarine, and preserved his reputation to a good old age. Among his bon mots, the most remarkable is the repartee he made to a gentleman

pecially had a singular talent for these gallant pieces, in which he always made delicate and lively allusions to the characters of the persons present, to the personages of antiquity or mythology which they represented, and to the passions actuating the court at that time. The king personated Roger; when all the diamonds belonging to the crown sparkled upon his cloaths, and the horse which he rode. The queens, and three hundred ladies under triumphal arches, viewed this entry.

The king, amidst all the eyes that were fixed upon him, distinguished only those of mademoiselle de la Valiere*. The feast was for her alone; which she secretly enjoyed, tho' not distinguished from the crowd.

The cavalcade was followed by a gilt car eighteen feet high, fifteen broad, and twenty-four long, representing the chariot of the sun. The four ages of gold, silver, brass and iron, the celestial signs, the seasons, and the hours followed this car on foot. All was distinctly characterized. Shepherds carried pieces of the enclosure, that were adjusted by the sound of trumpets, to which succeeded at intervals violins and other instruments. Some persons who followed Apollo's car, came at first to recite to the queens certain verses suitable to the place, the time, and the persons present. After the races were finished, and the night came on, four thousand large flambeaux lighted the spot where the feast was given. The tables therein were served by
two

gentleman whom he had often rallied on suspicion of impotence. That gentleman meeting Benserade in the street, "Well (said he) notwithstanding all your raillery, my wife has been delivered some days." "O, sir, (replied the poet) I never doubted the ability of your wife."

* Louisa Frances de la Beram-le-Blanc de la Valiere, was maid of honour to Henrietta of England, duchess of Orleans. She fell in love with the person of Lewis XIV. who returned her passion; had several children by her, and raised her to the rank of duchess of Vanjour, and peeress of France. Tired of the pleasures of a court, and touched by the stings of repentance, she retired to the convent of the Carmelites in Paris, and spent the latter part of her life in acts of piety and mortification.

two hundred persons, who represented the seasons, the fauns, sylvans, and dryades, with shepherds, grape-gatherers, and reapers. Pan and Diana advanced upon a moving mountain, and descended from it, in order to place upon the tables whatever the country and the forests produced that was most delicious. Behind the tables, in a semi circle, rose up all at once a theatre filled with performers in concert. The arcades which surrounded the table and theatre were decorated with five hundred chandeliers, with tapers in them; and a gilt balustrade inclosed this vast circuit.

These feasts, so much superior to what are invented in romances, lasted for seven days. The king carried four times the prizes of the games; and afterwards he left those he had won to be contended for by other knights, and accordingly gave them up to the victors.

The comedy of the princess d'Elide, or princess of Elis, though not one of the best plays of Moliere, was one of the most agreeable decorations of these games, for the vast number of fine allegories on the manners of the times, and for the apposite purposes which form the agreeableness of these feasts, but which are lost to posterity. People at court were still fond, even to madness, of judicial astrology: many princes imagined, through an haughty superstition, that nature distinguished them by writing their destiny in the stars. Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, father to the duchess of Burgundy, retained an astrologer near his person, even after his abdication. Moliere was so bold as to attack this delusion in his comedy.

Here also was to be seen a court-fool. These wretched fellows were still much in vogue. This was a relic of barbarism that continued longer in Germany than in any other place. The want of amusements, and the inability of procuring such as are agreeable and virtuous in times of ignorance and bad taste, had given occasion to the invention of this wretched pleasure, which degrades the human mind. The fool, who

was then in the court of Lewis XIV. had formerly belonged to the prince of Condé; his name was Angeli. The count de Grammont said, that of all the fools who followed that prince, there was none but Angeli who made his fortune. This buffoon was not without some parts. It is he who said, "That he went not to hear sermons, because, as he did not like brawling, so he did not understand reasoning."

The farce of the Forced Marriage was likewise acted at this feast. But what was truly admirable here was, the first representation of the three

1264. first acts of *Tartuffe*. The king had an inclination to see this master-piece even before it was finished. He afterwards protected it against those false bigots; who would have drawn in earth and heaven to be interested for the suppression of it: and it will subsist, as has been already said elsewhere, as long as there shall be any taste and hypocrites remaining in France.

Most parts of these shining solemnities are often calculated only to please the eyes and the ears. That which is no more than pomp and magnificence passes away in one day; but when master-pieces of art, like the *Tartuffe*, make up the ornament of these feasts, they leave behind them an eternal remembrance.

There are still fresh in memory several strokes of those allegories of *Benserade* which were an ornament to the ballads of that time. I shall only give here the verses for the king, representing the sun.

*Je doute qu'on le prenne avec vous sur le ton
De Daphné ni de Phaëton.*

*Lui trop ambitieux, elle trop inhumaine,
Il n'est point là de piège, où vous puissiez donner;
Le moyen de s'imaginer,*

Qu'une femme vous suive, et qu'un homme vous mène?

With you I doubt we must not prate
Of Daphne's scorn and Phaëton's fate,
He too aspiring, she inhuman;
In snares like these you cannot fall,

For

For who will dream that e'er you shall
Be fool'd by man, or shunn'd by woman.

The principal glory of these amusements, which perfected taste, politeness and parts, in France, proceeded from this, that they did not take the monarch off in the least from his assiduous labours: for without these he would only have known how to keep a court, and would have been unacquainted with the methods of governing; so that had the magnificent pleasures of this court insulted over the miseries of the people, they had only been odious. But the same person, who gave these feasts, gave bread to the people in the famine of 1662. He caused corn to be brought, which the rich purchased at a cheap rate, and he gave it gratuitously to poor families at the gates of the Louvre: he remitted to the people three millions of imposts: no part of the interior administration was neglected, his government was respected abroad, the king of Spain was obliged to yield to him the precedency, the pope was forced to make him satisfaction, Dunkirk was added to France by a sale no less glorious to the purchaser than it was ignominious to the seller. In short, all the steps taken, from the time that he held the reins of government, had been either noble or useful; after this the giving of feasts was extremely proper.

Chigi, the legate a latere, and nephew to pope Alexander VII. coming in the midst of these rejoicings at Versailles to give satisfaction to the king for the high insult offered by the pope's guards, presented a new spectacle to the court. Such grand ceremonies are like feasts for the public. The honours paid him rendered the satisfaction more striking and illustrious. He received under a canopy the compliments of the superior courts, the bodies of the city and clergy: he entered Paris under the discharge of cannon, with the great Condé on his right hand, and the son of that prince on his left: he came in this pomp to humble himself, Rome, and the pope, before the king who

had not yet drawn his sword. After he had audience he dined with the king, and the whole concern was to treat him magnificently, and to give him pleasure. Afterwards the doge of Genoa was treated with less ceremony, but with the same earnest desire of pleasing, which the king always made reconcileable with his more lofty proceedings.

All this gave the court of Lewis XIV. an air of grandeur, which quite obscured all the other courts of Europe. He was desirous, that this lustre annexed to his person should reflect a glory on all around him; that the great should be honoured, beginning with his brother and the prince; and that none should be powerful. It was with this view that he determined in favour of the peers their ancient dispute with the presidents of the parliament: the latter pretended, that they ought to give their opinions before the peers, and accordingly they put themselves in possession of this right: but he decided, in an extraordinary council, that the peers should give their opinions at the beds of justice, held in the king's presence, before the presidents, as if they owed this prerogative only to his person, when present: and he allowed the ancient usage in those assemblies, which are not beds of justice, still to continue.

In order to distinguish his principal courtiers, he invented blue short coats embroidered with gold and silver. The permission of wearing these was a great favour to such as were guided by vanity. They were asked for almost like the collar of an order. It may be observed, as we have here entered upon minute details, that at that time these coats were worn over a doublet adorned with ribbons, and over the coat passed a belt, to which hung the sword. There was also a sort of laced cravat, and a hat adorned with a double row of feathers. This mode, which lasted till 1684, became that of all Europe, except Spain and Poland: for people almost every where already piqued themselves on imitating the court of Lewis XIV.

He

He established an order in his household, which still continues, regulated the several ranks and offices belonging thereto; and he created new places about his own person, as that of the grand master of the wardrobe. He re-established the tables instituted by Francis I. and augmented them. There were twelve of these for the commensal officers, as they are called, who eat at court, and are served with as much elegance and profusion as a great many sovereigns: he would have all strangers invited thither, and this lasted during all his reign. But there was another point of a still more desirable and polite nature, which was, that after he had built the pavilions of Marli in 1679, all the ladies found in their apartments a complete toilette, in which nothing that belonged to the purposes of a commodious luxury was forgot: whoever happened to be upon a journey, might give repasts in their apartments to their friends, and the same delicacy was used in serving the guests as for the master himself. Such trivial matters have their value only when they are supported by greater. In all his actions, splendor and generosity were to be seen. He made presents of two hundred thousand franks to the daughters of his ministers at their marriage.

That which raised most admiration of him in Europe was a piece of liberality that had no example before. He had the hint from a discourse which he held with the duke of Saint-Aignan, who told him, that cardinal Richelieu had sent presents to some learned men of other countries, who had written elegies upon him. The king did not wait till he was praised; but, sure of deserving it, he recommended to his ministers Lionne and Colbert to pitch upon a number of Frenchmen and foreigners distinguished for their literature, on whom he might bestow marks of his generosity. Lionne having written into foreign countries, informed himself as much as possible in a matter of such delicacy, where the point was to give preference to cotemporaries. At first a list of sixty persons was made out: some had presents given them, and others pensions,

pensions, according to their rank, wants, and merit. Allati*, librarian of the Vatican, Count Graziani†, secretary of state to the duke of Modena, the celebrated Viviani‡, mathematician to the grand duke of Florence, Vossius§, historiographer to the United Provinces,

* Leo Alazzi was a native of Chio, acquired a great share of reputation for learning, and wrote a great number of books; but his taste and judgment were not thought equal to his erudition. He died at Rome in the year 1669 in the eighty-third year of his age.

† Jerome Graziani, count of Sarzana, distinguished himself by his poetical genius. He wrote an heroic poem, intitled *Cleopatra*, and another on the conquests of *Granada*, together with a collection of odes and sonnets. He was appointed secretary of state, and afterwards created count of Sarzana by Francis duke of Modena, to whose family he had always been zealously attached.

‡ Vincent Viviani was the disciple of the famous Galileo, and soon distinguished himself by a sublime genius for geometry. He undertook to restore, by conjecture, the fifth book of *Appollonius de Maximis et de Minimis*, which was lost. While he was engaged in this undertaking, the famous Borelli found in the grand duke's library at Florence, an Arabic manuscript, with this Latin title, *Appollonii Pergæi conicorum libri octo*. This, with the grand duke's permission, he carried to Rome to be translated by Abraham Echellensis, Maronite professor of the Oriental tongues. Viviani, in the mean time, without the least communication with this translator, published his restoration by conjecture, and when the translation of the Arabic manuscript was finished, it appeared that he had not only restored all that was in the fifth book of Apollonius, but carried his researches much farther on the same subject. He afterwards restored by the same art of divination or conjecture, three books of the ancient geometrician Aristotle, which had perished through the injury of time.

§ Dionysius Vossius, who translated into Latin Reidanius's *Annals*, and was nominated professor of history and eloquence at Deft in Livonia, died young at Amsterdam, in the year 1633. Isaac Vossius, the son of Gerard John Vossius, was also a man of great erudition, and received a very considerable present from Lewis XIV. but he was no historian. He came over to England in the reign of Charles II. and died canon of Windsor. Matthew Vossius, the brother of Dionysius, wrote in Latin five books of the *Annals of Holland and Zealand*; but it does not appear, that he received either pension or present from the king of France; whereas the letter of Colbert to Isaac Vossius is still extant,

ces, the illustrious mathematician Huygens, and a Dutch resident in Sweden ; in short, down to the professors of Altorf and Helmstadt, towns almost unknown to the French, were astonished upon receiving letters from monsieur Colbert, by which he acquainted them, that tho' the king was not their sovereign, he entreated them to allow him to be their benefactor. The expressions in these letters were estimated from the dignity of the persons who sent them ; and all were accompanied with considerable gratifications, or pensions.

Among the French, they knew how to distinguish * Racine, Quinault †, Flechier ‡, since bishop of Nimes, who was then but very young. They had presents. It is true that Chapelain § and Cotin had pensions bestowed upon

* John Racine, celebrated for his tragedies which are preferred to those of the great Corneille, in point of correctness, tenderness, and regularity. Corneille was more sublime ; Racine more interesting : the one commanded admiration ; the other maintained an empire over all the passions of the heart. Corneille was living, and admired by all France, when Racine made his first appearance as a tragic writer, and acquired the applause of the whole kingdom, without diminishing the fame of his great cotemporary.

† Philip Quinault acquired great reputation by his comedies and operas, notwithstanding the satirical couplet of Boileau :

*Si je pense exprimer un auteur sans défaut,
La raison dit Virgile, et la rime Quinault.*

To the censure of this poet, Quinault made no reply. On the contrary, he courted his friendship, and visited him often, in order to take his advice concerning his works ; but he never spoke a syllable of Boileau's own performances, and this affected silence piqued him extremely. " His only reason (said Despreaux) for soliciting my acquaintance was, that he might have an opportunity to talk of his own verses ; but he never says a word of mine."

‡ Esprit Flechier, bishop of Nimes, rendered himself famous by writing panegyrics on the saints, and by composing funeral orations, one of the most celebrated of which is that which he pronounced on the great Turenne. He was a prelate of uncommon erudition, pious, moderate, and extremely charitable.

§ John Chapelain was in very high reputation for his poetical genius under the ministry of the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine. Balzac has praised him on many occasions. He wrote one ode to cardinal Richelieu, which is generally admired ; but his poem

on them : but it was chiefly Chapelain whom the minister Colbert had consulted. These two men, otherwise so much disparaged on account of their poetry, were not without merit. Chapelain was possessed of an immense stock of learning ; and what is surprising is, that he had taste, and was one of the most acute critics. There is a great difference in all this from genius. Science and vivacity conduct an artist ; but they do not form him in any kind. None in France had more reputation in their time than Ronsard and Chapelain : the reason for this was, that in Ronsard's days barbarism prevailed, and in those of Chapelain the people had hardly emerged out of it. Costar, fellow-student with Balsac * and Voiture, called Chapelain the first of the heroic poets.

Boileau had no share in these bounties : he had hitherto wrote only satires ; and it is well known, that these pieces attacked the same learned men whom the ministry had consulted. The king distinguished him some years after, without consulting any body.

The presents made in foreign countries were so considerable, that Viviani built a house at Florence out of the liberality of Lewis XIV. He put in letters of gold

De la Pucelle was the ruin of all his poetical fame ; and produced the following severe distich :

*Ille Capellani dudum expectata puella,
Post tanta in lucem tempora prodit anus.*

Chapelain, in the midst of his success as an author, had the misfortune to fall under the ridicule of Boileau ; as did his cotemporary Cotin, canon of Bayeux, who, though a good scholar, was a wretched preacher, and a miserable poet.

* John Lewis Guez, lord of Balzac, was patronized as a man of genius by Richelieu, esteemed the most eloquent man in France, and the great restorer of the French language.

Vincent Voiture was patronized by the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. He distinguished himself by his writings both in prose and verse, which were much admired for their purity of style, the gaiety, gallantry, and elegant turn of thinking with which they abounded. He was the son of a vintner at Amiens, very amorous, and much addicted to play.

gold upon the frontispiece, *Ædes a Deo datæ*, i. e. "This house is the gift of God," being an allusion to the surname of Dieu Donné, which appellation the public voice had given to this prince at his birth.

The effect which this extraordinary munificence had in Europe may be easily imagined; and if we consider all the memorable things, which the king did very soon after, the most severe and most morose men ought to bear with the excessive elogiums profusely thrown out upon him. Twelve panegyrics of Lewis XIV. were pronounced in different towns of Italy; an homage which was paid him neither from fear nor hope; and these the marquis Zampieri sent to the king.

He always continued pouring his favours upon the sciences and arts: of these we have plain proofs from particular gratifications; as about four thousand louis-d'ors to Racine, also from the fortunes of Despreaux*, and Quinault, especially that of Lulli†, and of all the artists who devoted their labours to him. He even gave a thousand louis-d'ors to Benserade for engraving the metzotinto plates of his Ovid's Metamorphoses in roundelays; a liberality badly applied, and which only shews the generosity of the sovereign. He also recompensed in Benserade the little merit which he had shewn in his ballads.

Several writers have attributed solely to M. Colbert this protection given to the arts and this magnificence of Lewis XIV. But he had no further merit in the affair than seconding the magnanimity and taste of his master. This minister, who had a very great genius

* Nicholas Boileau, sieur Despreaux, is so well known by his poetical works as to need no farther description.

† John Baptist Lulli was a native of Florence, though he is styled the father of the French music. He was the first who introduced operas into France, and his compositions were universally admired. St. Evremont says, he was a perfect master of the passions, and understood the human heart much better than the authors whose works he set to music.

nus for the finances, commerce, navigation, and the general police, had not in his own mind that taste and elevation which the king had : he zealously promoted, but was far from inspiring him with what nature had given.

It is not easy to discover upon what foundation certain authors have reproached this monarch with avarice. A prince, who has domains entirely independent of the revenues of the state, may be avaricious, like an individual ; but a king of France, who, in reality, only distributes the treasure of his subjects, must of consequence be free from this vice. The will or care to recompense may indeed be wanting ; but this is what Lewis XIV. can never be justly reproached with.

At the time that he began to lavish so many favours upon men of talents, the use, which the count de Buffi made of those he possessed, was punished with the utmost severity. He was imprisoned in the Bastille in the year 1665. His writing the amours of Gaul was the pretext for his confinement. The real cause was a song in which the king was a little too freely treated ; the memory of it was revived at this time, in order to ruin Buffi, the supposed author :

*Que Deodatus est heureux,
De baiser ce bec amoureux,
Qui d'une oreille à l'autre va !*

Beyond expression sure that bliss is,
When Deodatus fondly kisses,
That beak so delicate and dear,
Replete with charms from ear to ear.

His works were not good enough to compensate for the mischief which they brought upon him. He spoke his own language with the utmost purity : he was not destitute of merit, but his self-sufficiency was much greater than his merit, and he made no other use of it, but to create himself enemies. It would have been generous in Lewis XIV. to have pardoned him : but
thus

thus he revenged his personal injury, whilst he in appearance, yielded to the public clamour. The count de Buffi was released in about eighteen months; but he never recovered his former place in the king's favour, tho' he continued, during the remainder of his life, to profess an attachment to Lewis XIV. which neither the king nor any body else believed to be sincere.

C H A P. CXCVIII.

Continuation of REMARKABLE PARTICULARS and ANECDOTES.

LEWIS XIV. was desirous of joining the sweets of friendship to the glory, the pleasures, the pomp, and the gallantry which brightened the first years of his reign; but to make a happy choice of friends is a difficult task for a monarch. One of those in whom he placed the greatest confidence basely betrayed him, the other made an ill use of his favour. The first was the marquis de Vardes, who was privy to the king's affection for madam de la Valiere. It is generally known that court-intrigues induced him to seek the ruin of madam de la Valiere, whose situation exposed her to the ill-will of the jealous, but whose character should have secured her from the machinations of enemies. It is known likewise, that he had the boldness, in concert with the count de Guiche and the countess of Soissons, to write a counterfeit letter to the queen, in the name of the king of Spain, her father. This letter informed the queen of what should have been concealed from her, and what could not but disturb the peace of the royal family. Besides being guilty of this piece of treachery, he was malicious enough to spread a report, that the duke and duchess of Navailles, the worthiest persons at court, were at the bottom of it. These, tho' entirely innocent, were sacrificed to the resentment of the deceived

ceived monarch. The villainous proceeding of de Vardes was detected, but too late; criminal as he was, however, his punishment did not exceed that of the innocent persons whom he had accused, and who were deprived of their places, and obliged to retire from court.

The other favourite was the count of Laufun, afterwards created duke, sometimes the king's rival in his occasional amours, sometimes his confidant, and so well known since by the marriage, which he contracted in too public a manner with the king's niece, and which he afterwards renewed in secret, notwithstanding the promise he had given to his master.

The king, disappointed in his choice of favourites, declared, that where he had sought for friends he had found only intriguers. This unhappy knowledge of mankind, which is generally acquired too late, caused him likewise to say: "Whenever I give a vacant place, I make a hundred male-content, and one ungrateful wretch." Neither the pleasures nor embellishments of the king's palaces, and of Paris, nor the care of the police, were in the least discontinued during the war of 1666.

The king danced at the balls till the year 1670. He was then thirty-two years of age. Upon seeing the tragedy of Britannicus played at St. Germain, he was struck with the following verses:

*Pour mérite premier, pour vertu singulière,
Il excelle à trainer un char dans la carrière,
A disputer des prix indignes de ses mains,
A se donner lui-même en spectacle aux Romains.*

His chief desert in trifling feats to place,
To drive the chariot foremost in the race,
In low pursuits to win th' ignoble prize,
Himself expos'd a show to vulgar eyes.

From that time he ceased to dance in public, and the poet reformed the monarch. His connection with the duchess de la Valiere still subsisted, notwithstanding the

the frequent breaches of his fidelity to her. These were not attended with much difficulty. He found every woman disposed to receive his addresses with transport; and he constantly returned to her, who, by the mildness and goodness of her character, and even by the force of habit, had captivated his affections without art. But, in the year 1669, she perceived that madam de Montespan was gaining the ascendant: she bore this with her usual mildness; she supported the mortification of being a long time witness to the triumph of her rival: she scarce uttered a complaint, but thought herself happy in her misfortune, because she was respectfully treated by the king, whom she continued to love, and had opportunities of seeing him, though she was not now the object of his affections.

At length, in the year 1675, she had recourse to the refuge of a mind replete with tenderness and sensibility, which can only be subdued by the most profound and affecting considerations. She thought, that God alone was worthy to possess a heart, which had been honoured with the affection of such a lover; and her conversion in a short time made as much noise as her passion had done formerly. She became a Carmelite at Paris, and persevered in the austerities of that order. The delicacy of a woman accustomed to so much pomp, luxury, and pleasure, was not shocked when she was obliged to cover herself with a hair-cloth, walk bare-footed, fast rigidly, and sing amongst the choir at night, in a language she did not understand. In this manner she lived, from the year 1675 to the year 1710, by the name of Sister Louisa the Penitent. A king would deserve the name of tyrant, should he punish a guilty woman with so much severity; yet many a woman has punished herself thus for having loved. There are scarce any examples of statesmen who have buried themselves in this manner; yet the guilt of politicians seems to stand more in need of expiation than the frailty of lovers; but those who govern souls have authority only with the weak.

It is generally known, that when Sister Louisa the Penitent was informed of the death of the duke of Vermandois, her son by the king, she said, "I ought to lament his birth more grievously than his death." She had a daughter, who, of all the king's children, had the nearest resemblance to her father; and afterwards married prince Armand of Conti, cousin to the great Condé.

In the mean time, madam de Montespan enjoyed the monarch's favour, and availed herself of it with an external pomp and pride equal to the modesty of madam de la Valiere.

Whilst madam de la Valiere and madam de Montespan continued to vie with each other for the first place in the king's affection the whole court was taken up with love-intrigues. Louvois himself became sensible to the influence of this passion. Amongst the many mistresses of this minister, whose rough character seemed so incompatible with love, was madam du Frenoi, wife to one of his clerks, in whose favour he, by his credit, afterwards caused a new place to be established amongst the queen's attendants: she was created lady of the bed-chamber: she had access to the queen's person upon all occasions. The king, by thus indulging the private inclinations of his ministers, thought to justify his own.

There cannot be a more striking example of the power of prepossession and custom, than married women being at that time allowed publicly to have gallants, whilst the grand daughter of Henry IV. was refused even a husband. Mademoiselle, after having rejected so many sovereigns, and having entertained hopes of marrying Lewis XIV. was, at the age of forty-three, desirous to make the fortune of a gentleman of a noble race. She obtained leave to marry Pequilin, of the Caumont family, count of Laufun, and a captain of one of the two companies, called the hundred gentlemen pensioners, which are now extinct, and for which the king had instituted the place of colonel-general of the dragoons. There were numerous precedents of princesses who had married gentlemen:

men: the Roman emperors often gave their daughters in marriage to senators: the daughters of the sovereigns of Asia, more powerful and more despotic than a king of France, always marry the slaves of their fathers.

Mademoiselle bestowed upon the count of Lausun all her possessions, valued at twenty millions, four duchies, the sovereignty of Dombes, the county of Eu, and the palace of Orleans, called Luxembourg. She retained nothing, having giving herself up entirely to the pleasing idea of making the person she loved richer than any king ever made a subject. The contract was drawn up; Lausun was for a day duke of Montpensier; nothing now remained but to sign. In a word, all things were in readiness, when the king, attacked on every side by the representations of princes, ministers, and the enemies of a man whose prosperity was too great to be borne, retracted his promise, and forbid the alliance. He had, by letter, apprised foreign courts of the intended marriage; he wrote again to inform them that it was dropt. He was censured for having permitted it; he was equally censured for having forbid it. He was afflicted at being the cause of mademoiselle's unhappiness. However, this very prince, who had been grieved at being under a necessity of breaking his word with Lausun, caused him, in November 1670, to be confined in the castle of Pignerol, for having privately married the princess, whom he had, a few months before, given him leave to marry publicly. He was shut up during the space of ten years.

There are many kingdoms whose sovereigns have not so considerable a power; those, that are invested with such a one, are most beloved when they decline to make use of it. Should a citizen, who does not violate the laws of the state, be so severely punished by him who represents the state? Is there not a wide difference between offending one's sovereign and betraying one's sovereign? Should a king treat a man with more rigour than the law would treat him? Those
who

who have asserted that madam de Montespan *, who put a stop to this marriage, being irritated against the count de Lauzun for the bitter reproaches he uttered against her, exacted that vengeance, have done that monarch great injustice. It would have been a proof both of tyranny and pusillanimity, to sacrifice to female resentment a brave man and a favourite, who, after being deprived of an immense fortune by his master, had been guilty of no other crime but speaking too freely of madam de Montespan.

I hope my readers will excuse these reflections, which the natural rights of mankind oblige me to make ; but at the same time equity requires, that as Lewis XIV. had not been guilty of an action of that nature during the whole course of his reign, he should not be accused of so cruel a piece of injustice. He was certainly severe enough in punishing with such rigour a clandestine marriage, an innocent union, which it would have been more prudent in him to pass over in silence. To withdraw his favour from Lauzun was but just, to imprison him was too severe.

Those, who call this private marriage in question, need only read the memoirs of mademoiselle with attention. These memoirs discover what she endeavours to conceal. It appears from them, that this princess, who had complained so bitterly to the king when her marriage was forbid, did not dare to complain of her husband's being imprisoned. She owns, that she was thought to be married ; she does not however assert that she was not : and, if there was no proof of it but that expression, " I neither can nor ought to change my sentiments for him," it would be conclusive.

Lauzun and Fouquet were astonished at meeting in the same prison ; but the latter, who in the height of his glory and power had seen Péquelin mixed with the croud
like

* This imputation, which we meet with in so many historians, derives its origin from the *Ségraisiana*. It is a posthumous collection of some conversations of Ségrais, most of them falsified. It is replete with contradiction ; and all the world knows, that it is unworthy of credit.

like a gentleman of no fortune from one of the provinces, thought him out of his senses when he assured him, that he had been the king's favourite, and had obtained leave to marry the grand-daughter of Henry IV. with all the wealth and the titles of the house of Montpensier.

After having languished ten years in prison, he was at length released; but it was not till after madam de Montespan had engaged mademoiselle to confer the sovereignty of Dombes, and the county d'Eu, upon the duke of Maine, then an infant, who possessed them after the death of that princess. She made this donation merely through a hope, that the duke of Lausun would be acknowledged as her husband; but she was herein deceived: the king only allowed her to bestow on her concealed and unfortunate husband, the lands of St. Fargeau and Thiers, with other considerable revenues, which Lausun found insufficient. In a word, she was obliged to be satisfied with being his wife in private, and to suffer herself to be neglected by him in public. This princess, become unhappy at court and unhappy at home, which is the ordinary effect of violent passions, died in the year 1693*.

As

* At the end of the memoirs above mentioned is printed a history of the amours of Mademoiselle and Mons. de Lausun. It is the work of some valet de chambre. Verses are subjoined of a piece with the history, and with all the absurdities which the Dutch booksellers have long had a sort of a privilege to impose upon the world.

We should place in the same class most of the stories concerning Mademoiselle to be met with in the memoirs of madam de Maintenon: it is there said, that in the year 1681, one of the ministers of the duke of Lorraine came disguised like a beggar, and presenting himself before Mademoiselle in church, shewed her a prayer-book upon which was written, "From the duke of Lorraine:" and that he afterwards endeavoured to prevail on her to declare the duke her heir. Vol. II. page 204. This fable is copied from the adventure of queen Clotilde, whether true or false. Mademoiselle takes no notice of it in her memoirs, in which she seldom omits little circumstances. The duke of Lorraine had no manner of pretensions to the succession of Mademoiselle: add to this, that she had in 1679 appointed the duke of Maine and the count of Toulouse her heirs.

The

As for the count of Lauzun, he afterwards went over to England in 1688. Being fated to extraordinary adventures, he conducted to France the queen of James II. and her son, then in the cradle. He was created duke. He commanded in Ireland with but indifferent success; and returned more celebrated for his adventures than esteemed for his personal merit. We have seen him die in a very advanced age, quite forgotten, as is generally the case with those who have been concerned in important events, without having performed great exploits.

Madam de Montespan however was all-powerful at court, at the beginning of the intrigues just spoken of.

Athenais de Mortemar, wife to the marquis de Montespan, her elder sister the marchioness de Thiange, and her younger sister, for whom she obtained the abbey of Fontevraud, were the finest women of that age; and all three added the most refined and lively wit to their personal attractions. Their brother, the duke of Vivonne, marshal of France, was one of the most eminent men at court, both for taste and learning. The king happened one day to ask him, What advantage is there in reading? the duke, who was fat and of a ruddy complexion, answered, "Reading has the same effect upon the mind that partridges have upon my cheeks."

These four were universally admired for a happy turn of conversation, which united humour, simplicity, and refinement, and went by the appellation of the Mortemars wit. They all wrote with inexpressible ease and grace. This sufficiently shews the absurdity of a story which I have heard repeated over and over, that madam de Montespan was obliged to employ madam Scarron to write her letters, and that she thereby became her rival, and afterwards supplanted her.

It

The author of these wretched memoirs says, in page 207, that the duke of Lauzun at his return looked upon Mademoiselle in no other light, but as a woman inflamed by an impure passion. She was his wife, and he himself acknowledged it. It is hardly possible to write a greater number of falsehoods in a more indecent style.

It is true indeed madam Scarron, since madam de Maintenon, had more acquired knowledge, and her conversation was more agreeably insinuating. There are letters of hers extant, wherein art embellishes nature, and which are written with the utmost elegance of stile. But madam de Montespan had no occasion for the assistance of another's wit; and she was long possessed of the king's favour before madam de Maintenon was presented to him.

Madam de Montespan's glory was in its brightest lustre at the time of the king's journey into Flanders in 1670. The ruin of the Dutch was planned during this journey, in the midst of pleasures. It was a continual festival, attended with the utmost pomp and magnificence.

The king, who generally went upon an expedition on horseback, upon this occasion went in a coach. Post-chaises were not invented till afterwards. The queen, madam her sister-in-law, and the marchioness de Montespan, were in this magnificent equipage, which was followed by many others; and when madam de Montespan went alone, she had four of the king's guards to attend her. Then the dauphin came with his retinue, and mademoiselle with hers: this was before the fatal affair of her marriage: she, in perfect peace of mind, partook of all these triumphs, and saw with secret satisfaction her lover, who was the king's favourite, at the head of his company of guards. The finest moveables of the crown were carried into the towns where the king passed the night. In every city the court passed through, there was either a ball or fire-works. The king was accompanied by all the troops of his household, and all his domestics went before or followed. A public table was kept at St. Germain. In this pomp the court visited all the conquered towns. The chief ladies of Brussels and Ghent came to see this magnificent procession. The king invited them to his table, and with great generosity made them presents. All the officers of the troops in garrison received gratifications.

rifications. There was frequently no less than fifteen hundred lewis d'ors a day spent in liberalities.

All the honours and distinctions were intended for madam de Montespan, except what duty exacted for the queen: yet that lady was not in the secret of the expedition. The king knew how to make a distinction between pleasure and state-affairs.

The king's sister, who was alone entrusted with the care of uniting two kings, and bringing about the destruction of Holland, embarked at Dunkirk aboard the fleet of the king of England, Charles II. her brother. She carried with her mademoiselle Kerowal, afterwards duchess of Portsmouth, whose beauty was not inferior to that of madam de Montespan. She afterwards became, in England, what madam de Montespan was in France, but with greater credit. King Charles was governed by her to the last moment of his life; and though he was by no means constant to her, she always preserved her ascendant over him. No woman's beauty was ever more lasting than hers; when near the age of seventy, she had something noble and pleasing in her countenance, which years could not efface.

The king's sister went to see her brother at Canterbury, and returned with the glory of being successful. She had not long enjoyed it when a sudden and painful death carried her off, at the age of twenty-six, on the 30th of June, 1670. The court was seized with grief and consternation, aggravated by the manner of her death. The princess thought she had been poisoned. Montague, the English ambassador, was convinced of it, the court scarce doubted it, and it was the received opinion over all Europe. One of her husband's old domestics told me the name of the person who, as he thought, gave the poison. "This man, said he, whose circumstances were but narrow, immediately afterwards retired into Normandy, where he purchased an estate, upon which he lived a long time in opulence." The poison, added he, was a diamond reduced to powder, and strewed over strawberries,

ries, instead of sugar. The court and city were of opinion, that the princess was poisoned with a glass of succory * water; after which she felt insupportable pangs, and in a short time died in convulsions.

But the malice of mankind, and a love for the marvellous, were the sole causes of this general persuasion. There could have been no poison in the glass of water, since madam de la Fayette and another person drank the remainder of it, without being in the least affected. The powder of diamond † is no more poisonous than the powder of coral. The princess had been a long time troubled with an abscess formed in her liver. She was in a very bad state of health, and had even been brought to bed of a child entirely putrified. Her husband, who has been but too much suspected all over Europe, was never accused of any crime of a black dye either before or after this event: and there are but few instances of criminals who have been guilty of only one inhuman action. The human species would be indeed unhappy, if atrocious deeds were as often committed as believed.

It was said, that the chevalier of Lorraine, a favourite of the duke of Orleans, had recourse to this horrible vengeance, on account of his being banished and imprisoned for his ill behaviour to the princess. People do not reflect, that the chevalier of Lorraine was then at Rome, and that it is difficult for a knight of Malta, of twenty years of age, to occasion, when at Rome, the death of a great princess at Paris.

M 2 It

* See the history of the princess Henrietta of England, written by the countess de la Fayette, page 171, of the edition published in 1742.

† Small bits of diamond and glass might, by their sharp points, pierce and tear the coats of the intestines; but then it would be impossible to swallow them, and the person would soon be rendered sensible of the danger by the excoriation of the palate and throat. The powder, if very fine, could not do any hurt, and would rather be a remedy, like the filings of iron. Those physicians who have added diamond to the number of poisons, should have made a distinction between a diamond reduced to very fine powder, and a diamond scarcely pounded.

It is but too true, that a weakness and indiscretion of the viscount de Turenne was what first gave rise to these invidious reports, which men take a pleasure in reviving. At the age of sixty he was the lover and the dupe of madam Coatquen, as he had been before of madam de Longueville. He discovered to that lady the secret of state, which was concealed from the king's brother. Madam de Coatquen, who loved the chevalier of Lorraine, divulged it to her gallant, who informed the duke of Orleans of it. The family of this prince was infested by the bitterest reproaches, and the most tormenting jealousies. These vexations began before the princess's voyage to England. The evil was aggravated by her return. The duke's sallies of passion, and the frequent contentions of his favourites with the friends of the duchess, filled the house with trouble and confusion. The duchess, a few days before her death, tenderly complained to the marchioness of Coatquen of the misfortunes which she had occasioned. That lady kneeled down by her bedside, and bathing her hands with tears, answered only by these verses from the tragedy of Winceflaus :

*J'étois ——— j'étais ——— l'amour a sur moi tant
d'empire
Je m'égare, Madame, Et ne puis que vous dire.*

I thought ——— I was ——— love reigns with
boundless sway—
In mazes lost—I know not what to say !

The chevalier of Lorraine, who had caused all these dissensions, was immediately sent by the king to the prison of Pierre Encise : the count Marfan, of the house of Lorraine, and the marquis, afterwards marshal of Villeroi, were banished. In a word, the natural death of this unhappy princess was looked upon as the consequence of these misunderstandings.

The public persuasion of the duchess of Orleans being poisoned, was greatly confirmed by this crime's being

ing prevalent in France at that juncture. Amidst all the horrors of a civil war, this base method of revenge was never put in practice. This crime, by an unaccountable fatality, infected France at the time of its greatest glory, and of pleasures calculated to soften the manners of mankind, just as it gained ground in Rome during the most shining period of the commonwealth.

Two Italians, one of whom went by the name of Exili, laboured for a long time in conjunction with an Italian apothecary named Glafer, with a view of finding out the philosopher's stone. The two Italians, having by this project lost the little fortune they had, endeavoured to repair their folly by carrying on a criminal commerce. They secretly sold poisons. Confession, one of the greatest restraints upon human depravity, but which men frequently abuse in a persuasion that they may commit crimes, and afterwards expiate them; confession, I say, made it known to the chief penitentiary of Paris, that some persons had died by poison. He gave immediate notice of this to the government. The two Italians, who were suspected, were confined in the Bastile: one of them died there. Exili continued in confinement without being convicted; and, from the midst of a prison, he spread over Paris those fatal secrets which cost the civil-lieutenant Daubrai and his family their lives, and at last gave occasion to erecting the chamber of poisons, commonly called The fiery chamber.

Love was the original source of these shocking adventures. The marquis of Brinvilliers, son-in-law to the civil lieutenant Daubrai, lodged in his house * St. Croix, a captain in his regiment, who was remarkable for his agreeable person. His wife suggested to him the ill consequences that this might produce. The husband, however, was obstinately bent upon having

M 3

the

* In the history of Lewis XIV. published in the name of La Martiniere, he is called the Abbé de la Croix. This history, defective in every thing, confounds names, dates, and events.

the young man live in the same house with his wife, who was young, handsome, and very susceptible of love. The event was such as might have been expected; they conceived a mutual passion for each other. The civil lieutenant, father of the marchioness, was severe and imprudent enough to cause the captain to be sent to the Bastile, when it would have been sufficient to send him to his regiment. St. Croix unluckily happened to be confined in the same chamber with Exili. This Italian taught him to wreak his revenge. The consequences, which are enough to make one shudder with horror, are universally known.

The marchioness did not make any attempt upon the life of her husband, who considered with indulgence a passion, of which he himself had been the cause; but her ardent desire of vengeance impelled her to poison her father, her two brothers, and her sister. Though guilty of such execrable crimes, she retained a sense of religion; she often went to confession: and even when she was apprehended at Liege; a general confession written with her own hand was found upon her. This was not considered as a positive proof of her guilt, but only as a presumptive. It is not true that she made experiments of the efficacy of her powders in the hospitals, according to the popular report, which has been adopted by the author of the remarkable trials, the work of a lawyer without employment, and calculated to amuse the vulgar. But it is true, that both she and St. Croix had private connexions with persons since accused of the same crimes. She was burnt in 1679, her head being first cut off. But this crime continued to infect Paris from 1670, when Exili began to compose poisons, till 1680. It cannot be concealed from the world, that Pennautier, receiver-general for the clergy, and the friend of this woman, was accused some time after of having made use of these secrets, and that it cost him one half of his wealth to stifle the accusation.

La Voisin, la Vigueux, a priest named le Sage, and others, dealt in Exili's secrets, under the pretext of amusing

amusing persons of curious and weak minds with the sight of apparitions. The crime was imagined to be more general than it really was. The Fiery chamber was established at the arsenal near the Bastile in 1680. Persons of the first quality were cited before it: amongst others, two nieces of cardinal Mazarine, the duchess of Bouillon, and the countess of Soissons, mother to prince Eugene. They were not ordered into custody, as we are told in the history of Reboulet. He is not less mistaken when he asserts, that the duchess appeared before her judges with so many friends, that she would have been in no danger even if she had been guilty. What friends could at that time have screened any body from justice? The duchess of Bouillon was accused of nothing but indulging an absurd curiosity.

The countess of Soissons, who retired to Brussels, was charged with something of a more serious nature. The marshal of Luxembourg was confined in the Bastile, and underwent a long examination, after which he remained fourteen months longer in prison. It is easy to conjecture the shocking reports which these accusations gave rise to in Paris. At length upon la Voisin and her accomplices being burnt alive, these crimes and inquiries discontinued. This abomination, however, was peculiar to some individuals, and did not corrupt the refined manners of the nation: but it left in the minds of men an unhappy propensity to suspect natural deaths of being occasioned by violent means.

The same opinion which had been formed concerning the unhappy fate of Henrietta of England, duchess of Orleans, was afterwards revived with respect to her daughter Mary Louisa, who was married in 1679 to Charles II. king of Spain. That young princess set out for Madrid with regret. Mademoiselle had often said to the duke of Orleans, brother to the king, "Do not carry your daughter so often to court; she will be too unhappy elsewhere." This young princess was desirous of marrying the dauphin. "I make you queen of Spain, said the king, what more could I do

for my daughter?" "Ah! returned she, you might do much more for your niece." She died in the year 1689, at the same age as her mother. It was looked upon as an incontestible truth, that the Austrian council of Charles II. was desirous of removing her out of the way, because she loved her country, and might prevent the king her husband from declaring for the allies, against France. A sort of counter-poison was sent her from Versailles; but these remedies are very precarious, since what may cure one disorder occasioned by poison, may increase another; and there is no universal antidote. The pretended counter-poison arrived after her death. Those who have read the memoirs compiled by the marquis Dangeau, will find therein that the king said at supper. "The queen of Spain has been poisoned by eating of an eel pye; and the countess of Pernitz, with the two attendants Zapata and Nina, eating of it after her, have lost their lives by the same poison."

After having read this extraordinary anecdote in these manuscript memoirs, which are said to have been written with care by a courtier who had scarce ever quitted Lewis XIV. during the space of forty years, I still entertain some doubt; I enquired of the king's ancient domestics, whether it was true that a monarch always so reserved in his discourse had expressed himself in so indiscreet a manner. They all assured me that nothing could be more false. I asked the duchess of St. Pierre, upon her return from Spain, whether the three persons above-mentioned had died at the same time with the queen; she gave me convincing proofs that they had all three long survived their mistress. In a word, I made a discovery, that these memoirs of the marquis Dangeau were nothing more than a collection of news, written by one of his footmen; and this may be very easily perceived by the stile, the trifling circumstances, and the falsehoods with which it abounds. After all these dismal ideas, to which the death of Henrietta of England has led us, we must now return to those events by which her
loss

loss was followed at court. The princess-palatine succeeded her a year after, and was mother to the duke of Orleans, afterwards regent of the kingdom. She was under the necessity of abjuring Calvinism, in order to marry the duke of Orleans; but she always retained a secret veneration for her own religion, which is not easily shaken off, when it has been impressed upon the mind from infancy.

The unfortunate adventure of one of the queen's maids of honour in 1673, gave rise to a new institution. This misfortune is well known by the sonnet of the abortion, which has been so frequently cited.

*Toi que l'amour fit par un crime,
Et que l'honneur defait par un crime à son tour,
Funeste ouvrage de l'amour,
De l'honneur funeste victime, &c.*

O thou! who dy'st imperfect and unborn,
Sad compound of creation and decay,
Embryo unform'd, deny'd the light of day,
Of blank and being the reproach and scorn,
Produc'd by guilty love's impetuous tide,
By guilty honour in its turn destroy'd,
The fatal work of love by stealth enjoy'd,
The hapless victim of stern honour's pride:
O let me calm the tempest of my breast;
For thou in dark oblivion's shade at rest
Feel'st not these horrors of internal strife.
In the two rival pow'rs their empire prove,
Love in despite of honour gave thee life;
But honour slew thee in despite of love.

The dangerous situation of maid of honour in a gay and voluptuous court, occasioned twelve ladies of the bed chamber to be substituted in the room of the twelve maids of honour; and this regulation has ever since continued in the queen's household. This institution rendered the court more numerous and magnificent, by fixing there the husbands and rela-

tions of these ladies, which increased the number of those who attended the court, and made it more brilliant.

The princess of Bavaria, who had espoused the dauphin, at this time added lustre and vivacity to the court. The marchioness of Montespan always attracted the chief attention: but at last she ceased to please; and her violent emotions of grief by no means conciliated the almost alienated affection of the monarch. However, her connection with the court always continued, as she was possessed of a considerable place there, being superintendant of the queen's household. Her connexion with the king subsisted likewise, by means of the children he had by her. the force of habit, and the ascendant she had acquired.

She retained all the outward shew of esteem and friendship, but that was no consolation to her; and the king, afflicted at being the occasion of her frequent inquietudes, and inspired by another passion, began already to find a pleasure in conversing with madame de Maintenon, which he no longer enjoyed with his former mistress. He found himself at once divided between madam de Montespan, whom he could not forsake, mademoiselle Fontagne, whom he loved, and madame de Maintenon, whose conversation was become necessary to his distracted mind. The rivalry of these three kept the whole court in suspense. It reflects great honour upon Lewis XIV. that none of these intrigues had any influence upon public affairs; and that love, which disturbed the court, never caused the least disturbance in the kingdom. There cannot, in my opinion, be a better proof that the soul of Lewis was as great as it was tender.

I should even look upon these court-intrigues, which have no sort of connexion with state-affairs, as undeserving of a place in this history, if the name of Lewis XIV. did not render every thing interesting, and if the veil had not been removed from those mysteries by several historians, who have for the most part disfigured them.

C H A P. CXCIX.

Continuation of the Private MEMOIRS and
ANECDOTES.

THE youth and beauty of mademoiselle de Fontagne, the birth of a son, whom she bore to the king in 1680, and the title of duchess with which she was graced, all conspired to prevent madame de Maintenon from obtaining the first place; to which, as yet, she durst not aspire, and which she afterwards possessed: but the duchess of Fontagne and her son died in 1681.

The marchioness de Montespan, having now no declared rival, was no longer able to preserve a heart, wearied with her and her eternal complainings. When men are past the vigour of youth, they almost all require the company of an agreeable woman: the weight of public affairs, especially, renders such a relaxation extremely necessary. The new favourite, madame de Maintenon, who perceived the secret power she was daily acquiring, conducted herself with that artful address which is so natural to the female sex, and is by no means displeasing to the male. She one day wrote to madame de Frontenac, her cousin, in whom she reposed the most perfect confidence, "When he leaves me, he is always in affliction; but never in despair." While her interest was thus increasing, and that of madame de Montespan drawing towards an end, the two rivals saw each other every day, sometimes with a secret uneasiness, and sometimes with a transient familiarity, which the necessity of conversing together, and the fatigue of perpetual constraint, obliged them to assume. They both agreed to write Memoirs of all that passed at
court

court*. The work was never brought to any degree of perfection. Madame de Montespan was wont, in the latter years of her life, to divert herself in reading some of these memoirs to her friends. That spirit of devotion, which mingled itself in all these secret intrigues, contributed still more to strengthen the influence of madame de Maintenon, and to weaken that of madame de Montespan. The king began to reproach himself for his attachment to a married woman, and felt this scruple the more sensibly as he no longer felt the power of love. Things continued in this state of perplexity until 1685, a year rendered memorable by the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Scenes of a very different nature were then presented to the public view : on the one hand, the despair and flight of a part of the nation ; on the other, new feasts at Versailles ; Trianon and Marli built ; Nature forced in all these beautiful spots, and gardens formed with all the taste and elegance that art could bestow. The marriage of the grandson of the great Condé, with mademoiselle de Nantes, the king's daughter by madame de Montespan, was the last triumph of that mistress, who now began to retire from court.

The king afterwards disposed in marriage of the other two children, whom he had by the same lady ; to wit, mademoiselle de Blois to the duke de Chartres, whom we have since seen regent of the kingdom ; and the

* The Memoirs, published under the name of Mad. de Maintenon, relate, that she said to madame de Montespan, in speaking of her dreams, " I dreamed that we were on the grand stair-case of Versailles : I was ascending, you was descending ; I mounted to the clouds, you went to Fontevraut." This story is borrowed from the famous duke d'Epemon, who met the cardinal de Richelieu on the stair-case of the Louvre in 1624. The cardinal asked him, " What news ?" " None," said he, " except that you are going up, and I am coming down." But the beauty of the allusion is destroyed by adding, that from a stair-case one could mount to the clouds. It is to be remarked, that in most books of anecdotes, in that era, the authors always ascribe to their speakers things that have been said a century, or even several centuries before.

the duke de Maine to Louisa Benedicta de Bourbon, grand-daughter of the great Condé, and sister to the present duke, a princess distinguished by her wit, and her taste for the polite arts. Those who have ever approached the royal palace, or the palace de Sceaux, know that all the popular reports relating to her marriage, and retailed in so many histories, are absolutely false and groundless. You will find it reported in more than twenty different volumes, that the house of Orleans and the house of Condé rejected the proposals with indignation: you will find it written, that the princess, the duke de Chartre's mother, threatened her son; nay, that she even beat him. The anecdotes of the Constitution relate, with a very serious air, that the king having employed the abbé du Bois, sub-preceptor to the duke de Chartres, to negotiate the match, the abbé found great difficulty in succeeding; and that he asked the cardinal's hat as a reward for his labour. Whatever relates to the court is written with as little regard to truth in several of our modern histories.

Before the marriage between the duke and mademoiselle de Nantes was celebrated, the marquis de Seignelai gave the king an entertainment worthy of that monarch in the gardens de Sceaux, laid out by Le Notre with as much taste and elegance as those of Versailles; and the entertainment was embellished by a representation of the *l'Idylle de la Paix*, composed by Racine. There was another carousal at Versailles; and, after the marriage, the king displayed a scene of uncommon magnificence, of which cardinal Mazarine had given the first specimen in 1656. There were placed in the hall of Marli four shops, filled with all the richest and most exquisite curiosities that the industry of the Parisian artists could produce. These four shops were so many superb decorations, representing the four seasons of the year. Madame de Montespan kept one of them with the dauphin: her rival kept another with the duke de Maine. The two new-married noblemen had each his shop; the duke with madame de Thiange, and the duchess, who,
on

on account of her youth, could not decently keep a shop with a man, was with madame de Chevreux. The ladies and gentlemen, who were named for this excursion, drew by lot the jewels with which these shops were adorned. Thus the king made presents to all his court, in a manner worthy of himself. The lottery of cardinal Mazarine was neither so ingenious, nor so brilliant. These lotteries had formerly been used by the Roman emperors; but none of them ever thought of heightening their magnificence by such an air of gallantry.

After the marriage of her daughter, madame de Montespan appeared no more at court. She continued to live at Paris with great dignity. She had a large annuity settled upon her for life; the king ordered a pension of a thousand louis-d'ors to be paid her every month. She went yearly to drink the waters of Bourbon; and married the young women in the neighbourhood, to whom she gave portions. She was now past the age when the imagination, struck with lively impressions, sends people to a nunnery. She died at Bourbon in 1707.

About a year after the marriage of mademoiselle de Nantes with monsieur the duke, the prince of Condé died at Fontainebleau, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. His death was occasioned by a disease, which was rendered more violent by a journey he took to visit the duchess, who was seized with the small-pox. From this anxious concern for the safety of the duchess, which cost him his life, one may easily judge whether he had any aversion to the marriage of his grandson with the daughter of the king and of madame de Montespan, as has been reported by all those lying gazettes with which Holland was then over-run. We even find, in a history of the prince of Condé, produced from the same repositories of ignorance and imposture, that the king took a pleasure in mortifying that prince on all occasions; and that, at the marriage of the princess of Conti, daughter to madame de la Valiere, the secretary of state refused him the title
of

of High and Mighry Lord, as if that were a title commonly given to princes of the blood. But how could the author, who composed the history of Lewis XIV. in Avignon, partly from these wretched memoirs, be so ignorant of the world, and of the custom of our court, as to relate the like falsehoods?

Mean while, after the marriage of the duchess, and the total eclipse of the mother, madame de Maintenon, victorious over all opposition, gained such an ascendant, and inspired Lewis XIV. with so much love, and so many scruples of conscience, that, by the advice of father de la Chaise, he married her privately in the month of January, 1686, in a little chapel, which stood at the end of the apartment that was afterwards possessed by the duke of Burgundy. There was no contract, nor any articles of marriage. Harlai de Chamvalon, archbishop of Paris, assisted by the confessor, gave them the nuptial benediction. Montchevreuil *, and Bontems, first valet de chambre, were present as witnesses. It is no longer possible to suppress this fact, which has been mentioned by so many authors, who have been mistaken, however, with regard to the names, the place, and the dates. Lewis XIV. was then in his forty-eighth year, and the lady he married in her fifty-second. This king, already covered with glory, was desirous of mingling the innocent pleasures of a private life with the cares of state. The marriage did not engage him in any thing unworthy of his rank; and it was always a doubtful point

* And not the chevalier de Fourbin, as the Memoirs of Choisy assert. None are intrusted with such a secret but faithful domestics, and people attached by their places to the person of their master. There was no formal act of celebration: that is only employed to prove the reality of the wedding; but the present marriage was a marriage of conscience. How could any one have the impudence to report, that after the death of Harlai, archbishop of Paris, which happened in 1695, almost ten years after the marriage, his lackeys found the form of the marriage ceremony in his old breeches? This story, which is even too mean for lackeys, is only to be found in the Memoirs of Maintenon.

point at court, whether madame de Maintenon was married or not. She was respected as the choice of the king ; but never treated as queen.

We are apt to consider the fate of this lady as something very surprising, though history supplies us with many instances of greater and more distinguished fortunes, which had a meaner and lower origin. The marchioness de St. Sebastian, married to Victor-Amadeus, king of Sardinia, was not superior to madame de Maintenon ; Catharine, empress of Russia, was greatly inferior ; and the first wife * of James II. king of England, was far beneath her, according to the prejudices of Europe, unknown in other parts of the world.

She was of an ancient family, and grand-daughter to Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné, gentleman of the bed-chamber to Henry IV. Her father, Constant d'Aubigné, having formed a design of settling in Carolina, and having applied to the English for that purpose, was thrown into prison in the castle of Trompette ; from whence he was delivered by the daughter of the governor, whose name was de Cardillac, a gentleman of Bourdelois. Constantius d'Aubigné married his benefactress in 1627, and carried her along with him to Carolina : but returning to France, in a few years after, they were both committed to custody, at Niort in Poitou, by order of the court. It was in this prison of Niort that Frances d'Aubigné was born in 1635 : a woman destined by heaven to suffer all the hardships, and to enjoy all the favours of fortune. Carried to America at three years of age ; left on the shore by the negligence of a servant, where she was on the point of being devoured by a serpent ; brought back an orphan at ten years of age ; educated with great severity in the house of madame de Neuillant, her

* What ! was the daughter of the great earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of Great-Britain, and prime minister to king Charles II. inferior in rank to the widow of poor Scarron the burlesque poet ? Sure our author has forgot himself on this occasion.

her relation, and mother to the duchess de Navailles. She was so happy as to marry, in 1651, Paul Scarron, who lived near her in Hell-street. Scarron was of an ancient family belonging to the parliament, and illustrious by its great alliances; but the character of a wit, and of burlesque writer, which he bore, lessened his dignity, at the same time that it made him more generally beloved. It was, however, a very lucky incident for mademoiselle de Aubigné to get this man for a husband, deformed and impotent as he was, and possessed of but a small fortune. Before her marriage, she abjured the Calvinistical religion, which was her own as well as that of her ancestors. Her beauty and her wit were such, that she soon began to be distinguished. Her acquaintance was eagerly courted by the best company in Paris; and this part of her youth was doubtless the happiest time of her life*. After her husband's death, which happened in 1660, she continued long to solicit the king for a small pension of fifteen hundred livres, which Scarron had enjoyed. At last, after some years had elapsed, the king gave her a pension of two thousand; addressing her at the same time in the following strain, "Madam, I have made you wait long; but you have so many friends, that I was determined to have all the merit of this action to myself."

This

* It is said in the pretended *Memoirs of Maintenon*, tom. i. p. 216. that for a long time she lay in the same bed with the celebrated Ninon Lenclos, according to the hearsay reports of the abbé de Chateaufort, and of the author of the *Age of Lewis XIV.* But there is not a syllable of such an anecdote to be found in the author of the *Age of Lewis XIV.* nor in the remaining works of the abbé de Chateaufort. The author of *Maintenon's Memoirs* quotes only at random. This circumstance is mentioned nowhere except in the *Memoirs of the marquis de la Fare*, p. 190. Amsterdam edition. It was a custom, it is true, for people to share their beds with their friends; and this custom, which is now extinct, was very ancient, even at court. We find, in the *History of France*, that Charles IX. in order to save the count de Brissac from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, advised him to sleep at the Louvre in his bed; and that the duke of Guise and the prince of Condé lay together for a long time.

This anecdote I had from the cardinal de Fleury, who took a pleasure in frequently repeating it, because he said that Lewis XIV. paid him the same compliment when he gave him the bishopric of Frejus.

And yet it appears, from the letters of madame de Maintenon herself, that she was indebted to madame de Montespan for this small supply, which delivered her from extreme poverty. She was taken farther notice of some years after, when there was a necessity for educating privately the duke de Maine, whom the king had in 1670 by the marchioness de Montespan. It was not surely until the year 1672 that she was chosen to superintend this private education. She says, in one of her letters, "If the children are the king's, I will chearfully undertake the task; but I would not willingly take the charge of madame de Montespan's children: the king must therefore give me orders: this is my last word" Madame de Montespan had not two children until 1672, the duke de Maine and the count de Vexin. Hence it is evident, that the dates of madame de Maintenon's letters in 1670, in which she speaks of these two children, one of whom was not yet born, must necessarily be false. Almost all the dates of these printed letters are equally erroneous. This inaccuracy would give one reason to suspect the authenticity of these letters, did we not discover in them such strong marks of truth and ingenuity as it is almost impossible to counterfeit.

It is a matter of no great consequence to know, in what particular year this lady undertook the care of the natural children of Lewis XIV. but the attention given to these minute circumstances may serve to shew with what scrupulous exactness we have related the principal events in this history.

The duke de Maine was born with a deformed foot. The first physician d'Aquin, who was in the secret, advised to send him to the waters of Barege. Strict search was made for a person of integrity, who might be intrusted with this precious charge. The
king

king mentioned madame Scarron *. M de Louvois went privately to Paris to make the proposal to her. From that time she had the care of the duke de Maine's education, being appointed to that employment by the king, and not by madame de Montepan, as has been reported. She immediately wrote to the king, who was greatly charmed with her letters. Such was the beginning of her good fortune : her merit completed the rest.

The king, who at first could not endure her company, passed by degrees from aversion to confidence, and from confidence to love. His letters, which still remain, are a much more precious treasure than is commonly imagined : they discover that mixture of religion and gallantry, of dignity and weakness, which is so frequently to be found in the human mind, and which filled the soul of Lewis XIV. The mind of madame de Maintenon seems, at once, to be inspired with a true ambition, and a true devotion. Her confessor, Gobelin, approves equally of both : he is alike a director and a courtier. His penitent, though guilty of ingratitude to madame de Montespan, still continues to dissemble her crime. The confessor encourages the illusion ; and she calls in religion to the assistance of her superannuated charms, in order to supplant her benefactress, who is now become her rival.

This strange mixture of love and scruples on the part of the king, and of ambition and devotion on the part of the new mistress, seems to have continued from 1680 to 1686, which was the æra of their marriage.

Her elevation was only a retreat. Shut up in her apartment, which was on the same floor with that of the king, she confined herself to the company of two or three ladies, who had retired like herself ; and even these

* The author of the romance, intituled the Memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, makes her say, upon seeing the Chateau Trompette, " There is the place where I was educated, &c." This is evidently false : she was educated at Nîort.

these she saw but seldom. The king went to her chamber every day after dinner, and before and after supper, and tarried with her till midnight. He there deliberated with his ministers; while madame de Maintenon employed herself in reading, or in needle-work; never discovering the least forwardness to talk of state-affairs; frequently seeming to be ignorant of them; carefully avoiding every thing that might have the least appearance of cabal or intrigue; more desirous of pleasing him that governed, than of governing herself; and husbanding her interest with the greatest œconomy, by never employing it without extreme circumspection: She did not avail herself of her place, to make all the dignities and great employments fall into her family. Her brother the count d'Aubigné, though an old lieutenant-general, was not even a marshal of France. A blue ribband*, and some appropriation in the farms of the public revenues, were his only fortune: hence it was that he said to the marshal de Vivonne, brother to madame de Montespan, "that he had received his marshal's staff in ready money †."

The marquis de Villette, her nephew, or her cousin, was only a commodore. Madame de Cailus, daughter to the same marquis de Villette, had but a very small portion given her in marriage by Lewis XIV. Madame de Maintenon, when she married her niece d'Aubigné to the son of the first marshal de Noailles‡, gave her but two hundred thousand livres; the

* The badge of a knight of the order of the Holy Ghost.

† See his Letters to his brother, "I beseech you, says he, to live sparingly, and to husband the eighteen thousand livres we have gained: we shall get more money when that is gone."

‡ The compiler of Maintenon's Memoirs, says, tom. iv. p. 200, "Rousséau, a venomous viper towards his benefactors, composed some lampoons upon the marshal de Noailles." This is false: we ought not to calumniate any one. Rousséau, who was then very young, did not know the first marshal de Noailles. The lampoon was written by a gentleman of the name of Cabonart, who openly acknowledged himself to be the author.

the king made up the rest. She endeavoured to make the public excuse her elevation, in favour of her disinterestedness. The wife of the marquis de Villette, and who was afterwards lady Bolingbroke, could obtain nothing from her. I have frequently heard her say, that she upbraided her cousin with the little service she did her family; and that she told her in a passion, "You obstinately persist to act up to your moderate plan, and your family must be the victim of your moderation." Madame de Maintenon forgot every thing, when she was in the least apprehensive of offending Lewis XIV. She had not even the courage to support cardinal de Noailles against father Le Tellier. She had a great friendship for Racine; but that friendship was not strong enough to protect him against a slight resentment of the king. One day being deeply affected with the eloquence with which he represented the calamities of the people in 1693, calamities which are always exaggerated, but which have since been carried to a deplorable pitch, she prevailed upon her friend to draw up a memorial, pointing out the evil and the remedy. The king having read it, and shewn himself dissatisfied with the contents, she had the weakness to name the author, and to promise not to defend him. Racine, still weaker, if possible, than her, was seized with excessive grief, which brought him to the grave*.

The same disposition that rendered her incapable of doing a service, made her likewise incapable of doing an injury. The abbé de Choisy relates, that the minister Louvois fell on his knees before Lewis XIV. in order to dissuade him from marrying the widow Scarron. If the abbé de Choisy knew this fact, madame de Maintenon was not ignorant of it; and yet she not only forgave that minister, but she even appeased the first transports of passion into which the blunt behaviour

* This fact is related by the son of the illustrious Racine, in his Life of his father.

viour of the marquis de Louvois sometimes threw his matter †.

Hence

† Who would imagine, that, in the *Memoirs of madame de Maintenon*, tom. iii. p. 237, it should be said that this minister was afraid of being poisoned by the king. Strange! that at Paris we should publish horrid falsehoods at the end of so many ridiculous fables.

This stupid and shocking story is founded on a common report, which was spread abroad after the death of the marquis de Louvois. This minister was using the waters, which Seron his physician had prescribed to him, and which La Ligerie his surgeon made him drink. This is the same Ligerie who gave the public the remedy which is now called the *Poudre des Chartreux*. This La Ligerie hath frequently told me, that he apprized M. de Louvois of the great risk he ran by labouring while he drank the waters. The minister, however, continued to attend upon business as usual. He died suddenly on the 16th of July, 1691; and not in 1692, as the author of these false *Memoirs* asserts. La Ligerie opened his body, and found no other cause of his death than what he had foretold. Some people took it into their heads to suspect that the physician Seron had poisoned a bottle of these waters. We have seen how common these injurious suspicions then were. It was pretended, that a neighbouring gentleman, whom Louvois had greatly provoked and abused, bribed the physician Seron. Some of these anecdotes are to be found in the *Memoirs of the marquis de Fare*, p. 249. The family of the marquis de Louvois did even imprison a native of Lavay, who was a menial servant in the house; but this poor man, who was perfectly innocent, was soon released. But if people suspected, though very unreasonably, that a prince, who was an enemy to France, endeavoured to take away the life of a minister of Lewis XIV. this surely could never be a reason for suspecting Lewis himself of the same crime.

The same author, who, in the *Memoirs of madame de Maintenon*, hath collected such a heap of falsehoods, alleges, in the same place, that the king said, that he had got rid in one year of three men whom he could not endure; the marshal de la Feuillade, the marquis de Seignelai, and the marquis de Louvois. In the first place, M. de Seignelai did not die in 1691, but in 1690. In the second place, to whom did Lewis XIV. who always spoke with great circumspection, and like a gentleman; to whom did he address these imprudent and hateful words? To whom did he discover such a cruel and ungrateful heart? To whom could he say, that he was glad he had got rid of three men who had served him with so much zeal and fidelity? Is it lawful thus to blacken, without the least proof, without the least appearance of probability, the memory of a king, who was always known to speak
with

Hence it appears, that Lewis XIV. in marrying madame de Maintenon, only gave himself an agreeable submissive companion. The only public distinction that discovered her private elevation was, that at mass she occupied one of those little pulpits, or gilded canopies, which seemed to be made for the king and queen. The devotion with which she had inspired the king, and which had contributed to facilitate her marriage, became by degrees a real and deep sense of religion, which was greatly strengthened by age and weariness. She had already acquired, both with the king and the court, the character of a foundress, by assembling at Noisi a number of young ladies of quality; and the king had appropriated the revenues of the abbey of St. Denis to this rising community. St. Cyr was built at the end of the park of Versailles in 1686. She gave this settlement a complete form, composed the regulations of it with Godet Desmarêts, bishop of Chartres, and was herself the superior of the convent. She frequently went thither to pass a few hours; and when I say that melancholy determined her to follow these amusements, I only repeat her own words. Read what she wrote to madame de la Maisonfort, of whom mention is made in the chapter of Quietism.

“Why cannot I give you my experience? Why cannot I make you sensible of the melancholy that devours the Great, and of the difficulty they have to dispose of their time? Do you not see, that I die of lowness of spirits, though possessed of a more splendid fortune than ever I could have hoped to obtain? I have been young and handsome; I have tasted pleasures; I have been universally beloved. In a more advanced age, I have passed some years in the participation of intellectual pleasures: I am now arrived at the summit of fortune; and I assure you, my dear,

with great prudence? Every sensible reader beholds with contempt and indignation these collections of lies, with which the public is crowded.

dear, that every condition leaves a horrid void in the soul *.

Could any thing undeceive men with regard to the pleasures of an exalted station, this letter certainly would do it. Madame de Maintenon, who had no other cause of uneasiness than the uniformity of her life in the company of a great king, said one day to the count d'Aubigné her brother, "I can bear it no longer, I wish I were dead." The answer which her brother gave her is well known. "You have then got a promise, said he, of being married to the Almighty."

Upon the king's death, she retired wholly to St. Cyr. What is surprising is, that the king left her no fixed salary. He recommended her to the duke of Orleans. She only desired a pension of eighty thousand livres. This annuity was regularly paid her till her death, which happened on the fifteenth of April 1719. The author of her epitaph has affected too much to forget the name of Scarron: this name is not a disgrace, and the omission of it serves only to make one think that it is so.

The court became less gay and more serious, from the time that the king began to lead a retired life with madame de Maintenon; and the severe fit of sickness he had in 1686, contributed still more to destroy his taste for those splendid feasts which he had hitherto celebrated almost every year. He was seized with a fistula in ano. The art of surgery, which under this reign had made greater progress in France than in all the rest of Europe, was not yet sufficiently acquainted with this distemper. The cardinal de Richelieu had died of it for want of proper treatment. The king's danger alarmed the whole nation. The churches were filled with crowds of people, who, with tears in their eyes, implored the recovery of their sovereign. This expression of universal pity and lamentation was somewhat of a-kin to that which happened in the present age, when
his

* This letter is authentic; and the author saw it in M S. before he son of the great Racine caused it to be printed.

his successor's life was in danger at Mentz in 1744. These two epochs will serve as perpetual monuments to remind kings of what they owe to a people who love them with such a warmth of affection.

As soon as Lewis XIV. felt the first attacks of his disease, his chief surgeon Felix went to the hospitals to search for such patients as were in the same condition. He consulted the best surgeons; and, in conjunction with them, he invented some new instruments which abridged the operation, and rendered it less painful. The king suffered the operation without complaining: he caused his ministers to hold a council at his bedside the very same day; and that the news of his danger might occasion no change of measures in the courts of Europe, he gave audience to the foreign ambassadors next day. To this fortitude of mind may be added the generosity with which he rewarded Felix, to whom he gave an estate, which was then worth fifty thousand crowns.

After this the king went no more to the public shews. The dauphiness of Bavaria, being seized with a deep melancholy, and oppressed with a lowness of spirits, which brought her to the grave in 1690, refused to join in any party of pleasure, and obstinately persisted to immure herself in her chamber. She was fond of learning: she had composed some verses; but in her melancholy she was fond of nothing but solitude.

It was the convent of St. Cyr that revived the taste for the polite arts. Madame de Maintenon entreated Racine, who had renounced the theatre for the court and Jansenism, to write a tragedy that might be acted by her pupils; and she desired the subject might be taken from the Bible. Racine composed *Esther*. This piece, having been first represented in the convent of St. Cyr, was afterwards acted several times at Versailles before the king in the winter 1689. The prelates and Jesuits were eager to obtain a permission of seeing this remarkable play.

It is somewhat surprising, that this piece was, at this time, universally approved; and that, two years after,

Athaliah, which was acted by the same persons, was as universally condemned. The case was quite the reverse when these pieces were played at Paris, long after the author's death, and when all party-distinctions were utterly abolished. Athaliah was represented in 1717, and was received, as it deserved, with great applause; and Esther, which was acted in 1721, excited no other feeling in the breasts of the spectators than languor and weariness, and never appeared more. But there were now no courtiers so complaisant as to recognize Esther in madame de Maintenon, and so malicious as to discover Vashti in madame de Montespan, Haman in M. de Louvois, and especially the Hugonots, who were persecuted by that minister, in the proscription of the Jews. The impartial public could discover nothing in that piece but a plot without probability, and incapable of interesting the affections; and a frantic king, who had lived six months with his wife without knowing who she was, and who having, without the least pretext, given orders for butchering a whole nation, afterwards caused his favourite to be hanged with as little reason. But, notwithstanding the imperfection of the plot, thirty lines of Esther are of more value than many tragedies which have met with great success. These ingenious amusements were revived in order to forward the education of Adelaide of Savoy, duchess of Burgundy, who was brought to France at eleven years of age.

It is one of the many contradictions in our manners, that theatrical exhibitions should be branded with a mark of infamy, and yet be considered as an amusement the most noble and most worthy of persons of royal birth. A little theatre was built in the apartment of madame de Maintenon, on which the duchess of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans played with such persons of the court as were most remarkable for their wit and abilities. The famous actor Baron gave them lessons, and played with them. Most of the tragedies of Duché, valet de chambre to the king, were composed for this theatre; and the abbe Genet, almoner to the duchess of Orleans, wrote some plays for the duchess

duchess of Maine, which that princess and her court represented.

These amusements formed the taste, and enlivened society. How could the marquis de la Fare say in his memoirs, that "after the death of the dauphiness, all was play, confusion, and impoliteness?" The courtiers frequently played in their excursions to Marli and Fontainebleau, but never in the apartment of madame de Maintenon; and the court hath always been considered as the standard of the most perfect politeness. The duchess of Orleans, then duchess of Chartres, the duchess of Maine, the princess of Conti, and Madame the duchess, disproved by their conduct what the marquis de la Fare asserts. This man, in the social intercourse of life, discovered the greatest sweetness of temper, and yet his writings may almost be considered as a satire. He was dissatisfied with the government: he passed his time in a society of men, who made a merit of condemning the court; and this society converted a man of a most amiable disposition into an historian who is sometimes unjust.

But neither he, nor any of those, who have censured Lewis XIV. with so much severity, can deny that, till the battle of Hochstet, he was the most powerful, the most magnificent, and the greatest man in the world: for tho' there have been heroes, such as John Sobieski and the kings of Sweden, who have eclipsed him as a warrior, no one has ever been able to eclipse him as a monarch. It must likewise be owned, that he supported and repaired his losses. He had failings; he committed faults; but would those who condemn him have been able to equal him had they been in his place?" *

N 2

The

* If greatness of soul consists in a love of pageantry, an ostentation of splendid pomp, a prodigality of expence, an affectation of munificence, an insouciance of ambition, and a haughty reserve of deportment; Lewis certainly deserved the appellation of Great. Qualities, which are really heroic, we shall not find in the composition of his character.

The duchess of Burgundy improved daily in beauty and in merit. The praises bestowed upon her sister in Spain inspired her with an emulation, which redoubled her talent of pleasing. She was not a perfect beauty ; but she had a countenance like that of her son, an air of grandeur, and a majestic stature. These advantages were greatly embellished by her wit, and still more by her extreme desire of meriting the praises of all the world. She was, like Henrietta of England, the idol and the pattern of the court, and possessed of a still higher rank, as she was on the point of ascending the throne. France expected from the duke of Burgundy such a government as the sages of antiquity have figured to themselves, but whose austerity would be softened by the virtues and accomplishments of this princess, which were of a nature to be more sensibly felt than the philosophy of her husband. Every body knows how these hopes were frustrated. It was the fate of Lewis XIV. to see all his family perish in France by premature deaths ; his wife in the forty-fifth year of her age ; his son in the fiftieth * ; and in a year after he had lost his son, he saw his grandson the dauphin duke of Burgundy, the dauphiness his wife, and their eldest

* The author of the *Memoirs of madame de Maintenon*, tom. iv. in a chapter intitled, *Mademoiselle Choin*, says, that the dauphin was in love with one of his own sisters, and that he afterwards married mademoiselle Choin. These popular reports are known to be false by every sensible man. One should not only be a cotemporary, but ought likewise to be furnished with proofs before he ventures to advance such anecdotes as these. There never was the least evidence of the dauphin's having married mademoiselle Choin. To revive, after the expiration of sixty years, these common reports, so vague, so improbable, and so generally condemned, is not to write history ; it is to compile at random the most scandalous falsehoods, in order to gain money. Upon what foundation has this writer the impudence to advance in page 244, that the duchess of Burgundy said to the prince her husband, "If I were dead, would you compose the third volume of your family ?" He makes Lewis XIV. and all the princes and ministers talk as if he had heard them. There is hardly a page in the memoirs that is not filled with such barefaced lies, as justly excite the indignation of every virtuous person.

eldest son the duke of Brittany, carried to St. Denis in the same funeral car, in the month of April 1712; while the youngest of their children, who afterwards mounted the throne, was in his cradle at the point of death. The duke of Berry, brother to the duke of Burgundy, followed them two years after; and his daughter, at the same time, was carried from her cradle to her grave.

These lamentable losses made such a deep impression on the minds of men, that I have seen several persons in the minority of Lewis XV. who could not mention them without tears: but amidst so many untimely deaths, the fate of him who seemed likely to fill the throne in a short time, was most to be lamented.

The same suspicions, which prevailed at the death of Madame, and that of Maria-Louisa, queen of Spain, were now revived with double fury. The excess of the public grief might almost have excused the calumny, could any thing have excused it. It was unreasonable to suppose, that any one would have taken off, by a violent death, so many royal persons, and yet have left alive the only one that could avenge them. The disease, of which the dauphin of Burgundy and his wife and son died, was an epidemical purple fever. This distemper destroyed more than five hundred persons in Paris in the space of a month. The duke of Bourbon, grandson to the prince of Condé, the duke de la Tremouille, madame de Vrilliere, and madame de Listenai, were seized with it at court. The marquis de Gondrin, son to the duke of Antin, died of it in two days. His wife, afterwards countess of Thoulouse, was at the point of death. This disease over-ran all France. It carried off in Lorraine the eldest son and daughter of Francis, that duke of Lorraine, who was destined by heaven to be, one day, emperor, and to raise the house of Austria from its state of depression.

Mean while it was sufficient, that a physician called Bouden, a debauched, forward, and ignorant fellow, used the following expression: "We do not understand

such diseases." This, I say, was sufficient to make calumny rage without controul.

The prince had a laboratory, and studied chymistry, as well as several other arts; this was an unanswerable proof. The clamour of the public was so terrible, one must have been a witness of it in order to believe it. Several pamphlets, and some wretched histories of Lewis XIV. would eternize these suspicions, did not men, who have had better opportunities of information, take pains to destroy them. I will venture to say, that as I have long been sensible of the injustice of mankind, I have made several inquiries to come at the truth; and the following account has been frequently repeated to me by the marquis de Canillac, one of the most worthy men in the nation, and intimately connected with the suspected prince, of whom he had afterwards just reason to complain. The marquis de Canillac, amidst all this public clamour, went to visit him in his palace. He found him stretched at full length on the ground, bathed in tears, and frantic with despair. His chymist Homberg ran to the Bastile, to surrender himself a prisoner; but no orders had been given to receive him, and accordingly he was not admitted. The prince himself (who would believe it!) in the excess of his grief, desired to be taken into custody, and to have an opportunity of clearing his innocence by a formal trial; and his mother joined him in demanding this cruel justification. The *lettre de cachet* was made out, but was not signed; and the marquis alone, amidst this general fermentation, preserved so much presence of mind as to perceive the dangerous consequences of such a desperate measure. He prevailed upon the prince's mother to oppose this ignominious *lettre de cachet*. The monarch who granted it, and the prince who demanded it, were equally unhappy*.

CHAP.

* The author of the Life of the duke of Orleans was the first that mentioned these cruel suspicions. He was a Jesuit of the name

CHAP. CC.

Continuation of ANECDOTES.

LEWIS XIV. concealed his grief from the world, and appeared in public as usual : but in private the pain of so many misfortunes pierced him to the heart and threw him into convulsions. He met with all these

N 4

domestic

name of La Motte, the same that preached at Rouen against this prince during his regency, and who afterwards took refuge in Holland under the name of La Hode. He was acquainted with some public facts. He says, tom. i. pag. 112, that the prince, who was so unjustly suspected, offered to surrender himself a prisoner ; and this is very true. La Motte had no opportunity of knowing how M. de Canillac opposed this step, which was so injurious to the prince's innocence. All the other anecdotes he relates are false. Reboulet, who copied him, says pag. 143, tom. viii. the youngest child of the duke and duchess of Burgundy was saved by the counter-poison of Venice. There is no counter-poison of Venice that is thus given at random. Physic knows no general antidotes that cure a disease, the cause of which is unknown. All the stories, which were spread abroad in the world at that unhappy time, are no more than a collection of popular errors.

It is a falshood of little consequence in the compiler of the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon to say, that the duke of Maine was then at the point of death. It is a childish calumny to say, that the author of the age of Lewis XIV. rather confirms than destroys the credit of these stories.

Never was history disgraced with more absurd falshoods than in these pretended memoirs. The author pretends to have wrote them in 1733. He takes it into his head to suppose, that the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and their eldest son, died of the small pox. He advances this falshood to give himself an opportunity to speak of inoculation : an experiment that was not tried till the month of May 1756. Thus in the same page we find him speaking in 1753, of what happened in 1756 ; and he expresses himself thus. " This 24th of April 1753. I was interrupted ; an order came from the king to tear me from my family and myself." He then relates, how he was thrown into prison ; and accuses persons who never saw him of having informed the government against him. The same man, in the edition of the age

of

domestic losses towards the conclusion of an unsuccessful war, before he was sure of obtaining a peace, and at a time when famine laid waste the kingdom; and yet he was never seen to sink under his afflictions.

The remaining part of his life was unhappy. The disordered state of the finances, which he was unable to rectify, alienated the minds of the people. The unbounded confidence he placed in father Le Tellier, a man of too violent passions, completed the disgust. It is very remarkable, that the public, who freely forgave him his love to his mistresses, could never forgive him his attachment to his confessor. He lost, during the last three years of his life, in the minds of most of his subjects, all the respect and esteem he had gained by his great and memorable actions.

Deprived of almost all his children, his love, which was now redoubled to the duke of Maine and the count of Thoulouse, his legitimated sons, carried him to declare them heirs to the crown, them and their descendants, in default of princes of the blood, by an edict that was registered without opposition in 1714. He thus tempered, by the law of nature, the severity of positive laws, which deprive children born out of marriage, of all right of succeeding to their father's estate: but king's dispense with this law. He thought he might safely do for his own blood, what he had done for several of his subjects. He imagined, particularly, that he might make the same establishment for two of his children, which he had caused to be made in parliament for the princes of the house of Lorraine. He afterwards raised them to the same rank with princes of the blood in 1715. The suit commenced by the
princes

of Lewis XIV. which he published at Frankfort in 1751, had attacked, in his notes, the memory of the duke of Orleans, pag. 346 and 347; tom. ii. of this spurious edition.

Learning hath been infected with so many kinds of defamatory libels, and the Dutch have published so many false memoirs, and injurious aspersions on the government and people, that it is the duty of every faithful historian to caution the reader against the imposture.

princes of the blood against the legitimated princes is well known. The latter preserved for themselves and their children, the honours conferred upon them by Lewis XIV. but the fate of their posterity must depend on time, on merit, and on fortune. Lewis XIV. was seized about the middle of August in 1715, on his return from Marli, with the disease that brought him to the grave. His legs were swelled; a mortification began to appear. The earl of Stair, the English ambassador, laid a wager, according to the custom of his country, that the king would not outlive the month of September. The duke of Orleans, who in his journey to Marli had no attendants, had now the whole court about him. An empiric, in the last days of the king's illness, gave him an elixir which revived his spirits. He eat, and the empiric affirmed he would recover. The crowds which surrounded the duke of Orleans began to diminish apace. "If the king eats a second time, said the duke of Orleans, I shall not have a single person in my leveé." But the disease was mortal. Measures were taken for giving the regency, with an absolute authority, to the duke of Orleans. The king by his will, which was deposited with the parliament, had left it to him under great limitations; or rather had only appointed him the head of a council of regency, in which he would only have had the casting vote: and yet he said to him; "I have preserved to you all the rights to which you are intitled by your birth"*. The reason was, that he did not believe, there was a fundamental law in the kingdom which gives, during a minority, an absolute power to the presumptive heir of the crown. This supreme authority, which may be easily abused, is no doubt dan-

N 5

gerous;

* In the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon, tom. v. pag. 194. it is said, that Lewis XIV. intended to make the duke of Maine lieutenant-general of the kingdom. A man should be furnished with authentic proofs before he ventures to advance a thing of such extraordinary and important a nature. The duke of Maine would, in that case, have been above the duke of Orleans, which would have turned the kingdom topsy-turvy; and hence we may infer that the assertion is false.

gerous ; but a divided authority is still more dangerous. He imagined, that having been so faithfully obeyed during his life, he would be equally so after his death, not remembering, that the will of his father had been violated.

Every body knows with what greatness of soul he beheld the approach of death. He said to madame de Maintenon, " I imagined it was more difficult to die ;" and to his servants, " Why do you weep ? Did you think me immortal ?" He gave orders about several things, and even about the funeral solemnity. Whoever has many witnesses of his death, always dies with courage. Lewis XIII. in his last illness, set to music the psalm *De Profundis*, which was to be sung at his funeral. The fortitude of mind with which Lewis XIV. beheld his end, was divested of that glare of ostentation which covered the rest of his life. He had the courage even to acknowledge his errors. His successor hath always kept under his pillow the remarkable words, which that monarch spoke to him as he sat up in his bed and held him in his arms. These words are not such as have been represented in all former histories. The following is a faithful copy.

" You are soon going to be the king of a great kingdom. What I would chiefly recommend to you, is never to forget the obligation you are under to God. Remember that you are indebted to him for all that you are. Endeavour to preserve peace with your neighbours. I have been too fond of war ; in this do not follow my example any more than in my too expensive manner of living. Take council in every thing. Endeavour to distinguish what is best, and always take care to pursue it. Relieve your subjects as much as you can, and do what I have been so unhappy as not to be able to do myself, &c."

This speech contains nothing of that meanness of spirit, which is ascribed to him in some memoirs. He has been reproached for carrying some relics about him during the latter years of his life. His sentiments of religion were noble and elevated ; but his confessor, who was of a different character, had subjected him

to some practices little consistent with these sentiments, and now disused, in order to subject him the more absolutely to his direction.

Though the life and death of Lewis XIV. were certainly glorious, yet was he less lamented than he deserved. The love of novelty; the approach of a minority, in which every one hoped to make a fortune; the dispute about the constitution, which then exasperated the minds of the people; all conspired to make the news of his death be received with something more than indifference. We beheld the same people, who, in 1686, had importuned heaven with tears and sighs for the recovery of their sick monarch, follow his funeral procession with demonstrations of a very different nature. It is pretended, that the queen his mother said to him when he was very young: "My son, imitate your grandfather and not your father. The king having asked the reason; "because, said she, the people wept at the death of Henry IV. and laughed at that of Lewis XIII."

Notwithstanding he has been reproached with littleness of mind in his zeal against the Jansenists, with too much haughtiness to foreigners in his prosperity, with too great indulgence to several women, and too great severity in personal concerns, with wars undertaken without sufficient reason, with the burning of the Palatinate, and the persecution of the protestants, yet his great qualities and glorious actions, being placed in the scale, have at last more than counterpoised all his imperfections. Time, which rectifies the opinions of mankind, has stamped his reputation with the seal of immortality; and in spite of all that has been written against him, his name will never be mentioned without respect, or without reviving the idea of an age for ever memorable. If we consider him in his private character, we shall find him indeed too full of his own greatness; but withal affable, refusing his mother a share in the administration, but performing to her all the duties of a son, and observing the strictest rules of decency and decorum in his behaviour to his wife; a good father, a good master, always decent in public,
laborious

laborious in the cabinet, exact in the management of his affairs, thinking justly, speaking fluently, and amiable with dignity.

I have elsewhere * remarked, that he never spoke the words which have been ascribed to him, when the first gentleman of the bed-chamber and the grand master of the wardrobe were disputing about the honour of serving him: "What does it signify which of my valets serve me?" Such a coarse expression could never be used by a man so polite and so considerate as Lewis XIV. and agreed but ill with what he afterwards said to one of these gentlemen when talking of his debts: "Why do you not speak to your friends?" Words of a very different meaning, and of great importance, being accompanied with a present of fifty thousand crowns.

Nor is it true, that he wrote to the duke de la Rochefoucault: "I make you my compliments as your friend, with regard to the post of grand-master of the wardrobe, which I give you as your king." The historians have done him the honour of this letter, not remembering how very indelicate and even cruel it is to tell a man, whose master you are, that you are his master. This would be very proper, were a sovereign writing to a rebellious subject; and Henry IV. might justly enough have said it to the duke of Mayenne before a reconciliation was effected. Rose, secretary of the closet, wrote the letter; but the king had too much good sense to send it. It was the same good sense that made him suppress the pompous inscriptions which Charpentier of the French academy affixed to the paintings of Le Brun in the gallery of Versailles: "The incredible passage of the Rhine; the marvellous taking of Valenciennes, &c." The king thought that the taking of Valenciennes, and the passage of the Rhine, were more expressive. Charpentier was in the right to adorn with inscriptions in our language the
monuments

* All this is extracted from anecdotes printed among the miscellanies of the same author, and founded upon this history.

monuments of our country; flattery alone spoiled the execution.

Some smart answers, and witty expressions of this prince have been collected, which are reduceable to a very small number. It is pretended, that when he formed the design of abolishing Calvinism in France, he said, "My grandfather loved the Hugonots, and did not fear them; my father feared them, but did not love them; for my own part, I neither love nor fear them."

Having given, in 1658, the place of first president of the parliament of Paris to M. de Lamoignon, then master of the requests, he said to him, "Had I known a worthier man, or a better subject, I would have chosen him." He used much the same expression to the cardinal de Noailles, when he gave him the archbishopric of Paris. What constitutes the merit of these words is, that they were true, and inspired a principle of virtue.

It is said, that a foolish preacher having one day pointed him out at Versailles (a rashness that is not allowable towards a private man, and far less towards a king) Lewis XIV. contented himself with saying to him, "Father, I like well enough to take my share of a sermon; but do not chuse to be made the subject of it:" whether he used this expression or not, it may serve as a lesson.

He always expressed himself with majesty and precision, studying in public to speak as well as to act like a sovereign. When the duke of Anjou was setting out on his journey to ascend the throne of Spain, he said to him, in order to mark the union which would for the future unite the two nations: "Remember there are now no Pyrenees."

Nothing surely can set his character in a clearer light than the following memorial, written entirely with his own hand*.

"Kings

* It was deposited in the king's library some years ago.

“Kings are frequently obliged to do many things contrary to their inclination, and which shock the natural humanity of their temper. They ought to take a pleasure in doing favours, and they are often forced to punish, and even to ruin those to whom they naturally wish well. The interest of the state should hold the first place. They must force their inclinations: they must act in every matter of importance, so as to have no cause to reproach themselves with the thought of having been able to do better: but some private interests prevented me from following this course, and engrossed that attention which I ought to have employed in promoting the grandeur, the happiness, and the power of state. There are many circumstances that create uneasiness; there are some so intricate, that it is difficult to unravel them. We have confused ideas; and while that is the case, we may remain long without coming to any determination; but the moment we have formed our resolution, and are convinced that it is the best, we ought to carry it into execution. It is to the observance of this maxim that I have frequently owed my success in several of my undertakings. The errors I have committed, and which have given me infinite pain, have been owing to complaisance, and to a too ready compliance with the advice of others. Nothing is so dangerous as weakness of every kind. To be able to command others, we must raise ourselves above them; and after having heard the opinions of all parties, we must fix upon that which we judge to be best, without prejudice or partiality, always careful not to order or execute any thing unworthy of ourselves, of the character we bear, or of the grandeur of the state. Princes who have good intentions, and some knowledge of their own affairs, whether by experience, study, or intense application, find so many ways of discovering their natural disposition, that they ought to take a particular care of themselves and of all round them. We ought constantly to be on our guard against ourselves, our inclinations, and our natural propensities.

propensities. The employment of a king is grand, noble, and agreeable, especially when he finds himself able to perform his duty ; but it is not exempted from pain, fatigue, and inquietude. Uncertainty sometimes occasions despair ; when, therefore, he has employed a reasonable time in examining an affair, he ought to come to a determination, and to pursue the course which he thinks most adviseable *.

“ When he labours for the state, he labours for himself ; the welfare of one constitutes the glory of the other. When the former is great, happy, and powerful, he, who is the cause of all these advantages, is glorious, and of consequence ought, both on his own account and that of his subjects, to enjoy a greater share of all that is most pleasant and agreeable in life. When he has committed an error, he ought to repair it as soon as possible, and should allow no consideration to hinder him, not even good-nature itself.

“ In 1671 there died a man, who had the post of secretary of state, being charged with the department of foreign affairs. He was a man of capacity, but not without faults. He filled that important post with great ability.

“ I was some time in considering to whom I should commit this weighty charge ; and, after mature deliberation, I found that a man, who had long served me in the character of an ambassador, was most likely to fill it with success.

“ I ordered

* The abbe Castl de St. Pierre, author of several strange performances, in which there are many things of a philosophical, but very few of a practical nature, has left behind him some political annals, from 1658 to 1739, which are probably suppressed. He, in several places, condemns the administration of Lewis XIV. with great severity, and will not, by any means, allow him the title of Lewis the Great. It by Great he means perfect, this title to be sure does not belong to him ; but from these memoirs written with the hand of that monarch, it appears, that he had as good political principles at least as the abbe de St. Pierre.

" I ordered him to return home: all the world approved of my choice, which is not always the case. On his return I put him in possession of the post. I knew him only by report, and by the commissions with which I had charged him, and which he had executed with great fidelity; but the employment I had now given him was too great and too extensive for his narrow capacity. I have not availed myself of all the advantages I might have obtained, and this has always been owing to my complaisance and good-nature. At last I was obliged to order him to retire, because all that passed thro' his hands, lost that air of grandeur and importance which ought ever to attend the execution of the orders of a king of France. Had I been so wise as to have removed him sooner, I should have prevented many of the misfortunes which afterwards befel me, and should have had no cause to reproach myself with allowing my indulgence to him to hurt the state. These particulars I have thought proper to mention, in order to confirm the truth of what I advanced above."

This precious and hitherto unknown monument, will serve to convince posterity of the integrity of his heart, and the greatness of his soul. We may even say, that he judges himself with too much severity; and that he has no cause to reproach himself with regard to Mr. de Pomponne, since the great services and reputation of that minister determined the prince's choice, which was likewise confirmed by the general approbation of the public; and if he condemns himself for his choice of Mr. de Pomponne, who at least had the happiness to serve during a glorious period, what ought he to say with regard to Mr. de Chamillard, whose ministry was so unfortunate and so universally condemned?

He had written several memoirs in this stile, either with a view of keeping an account of his own conduct, or for the instruction of the dauphin duke of Burgundy. These reflections succeeded the events:

he

he would have attained nearer to perfection, to which his merit intitled him to aspire, had he been able to form to himself a philosophy superior to the politics and prejudices of the times. Philosophy, which, in the space of so many centuries, we have seen practised by so few sovereigns, and which kings are very excusable for not understanding, since it is understood by so few private men.

The following are a few of the many instructions which Lewis XIV. gave to his grandson Philip V. when he was setting out on his journey for Spain. He wrote them in haste, and with a negligence that discovers the soul much better than a studied discourse. We behold in them the father and the king.

“ Love the Spaniards, and all your subjects, who are attached to your crown and person. Don't prefer those that flatter you most; esteem such as, for the public good, will run the risk of displeasing you: these are your true friends.

“ Promote the happiness of your subjects; and with this view never undertake a war until you are forced to it, and until you have fully weighed and examined the reasons for and against it in your council.

“ Endeavour to lower your taxes; take care of the Indies, and of your fleets; give great attention to commerce, and live in a perfect union with France, nothing being so advantageous for both kingdoms as this union, which no power can resist*.

“ If you are obliged to make war, put yourself at the head of your army.

“ Endeavour to re-establish your troops upon their former footing in all your dominions, and begin with those of Flanders.

“ Never neglect business for pleasure; but form to yourself a kind of plan which will allow you proper times for amusements and diversion.

“ Of

* He was greatly mistaken in this conjecture.

"Of these there are hardly any more innocent than hunting, and the pleasures of a country-house, provided you are not too expensive in your decorations.

"Give great attention to business when any one talks to you on that subject; hear much at first, without making any decision.

"When once you have acquired more knowledge, remember that it is your province to decide; but whatever experience you may have, be always sure to hear the opinions and reasonings of your council before you come to a decision.

"Exert your utmost sagacity and penetration, in order to find men of the greatest abilities, that so you may properly employ them.

"Take care that your viceroys and governors be always Spaniards.

"Treat every body well; never say a disagreeable thing to any one; but distinguish people of quality and merit.

"Shew the grateful sense you have of the kindness of the late king, and of all those, who have concurred in chusing you for his successor.

"Place great confidence in cardinal Porto-Carrero, and let him know how much you are pleased with the conduct he has pursued.

"I think you ought to do something considerable for the ambassador, who had the happiness to invite you into the kingdom, and to salute you first in the quality of a subject.

"Do not forget Bedmar, who is a man of merit, and is capable of serving you.

"Place an unreserved confidence in the duke of Harcourt: he is a man of capacity and of honour, and will never give you any advice but what is for your interest.

"Keep all the French in order.

"Use your domestics well; but never admit them into too great a degree of familiarity, and far less of confidence. Employ them as long as they behave well;

well ; but send them back on the least fault they commit ; and never support them against the Spaniards.

“ Have no intercourse with the queen dowager, but such as you cannot dispense with. See that she quit Madrid ; but let her not go out of Spain. Wherever she is, observe her conduct, and never allow her to interfere in any affairs of state. Suspect the fidelity of those, who have too much intercourse with her.

“ Always love your relations : remember the pain it cost them to part with you : preserve a constant intercourse with them, as well in small as in great things. Ask from us freely whatever you either want or desire to have, that is not to be found in your own country, and we will use the same freedom with you.

“ Never forget that you are a Frenchman, nor what may possibly befall you. When you have secured the succession of Spain by children, visit your kingdoms, go to Naples and Sicily, pass over to Milan, and come to Flanders *. This will give you an opportunity of paying us a visit. Mean while visit Catalonia, Arragon, and other places. See what improvements may be made at Ceuta.

“ Throw some money to the people when you are in Spain, and especially when you enter Madrid.

“ Don't seem to be shocked at the strange figures you may see. Ridicule nothing : every country has its particular manners ; and you will soon be familiarized to what at first may appear most surprising.

“ Avoid, as much as possible, the granting of favours to those, who give you money in order to obtain them. Give with discretion and liberality ; and
never

* This circumstance alone may serve to confound the many historians, who, on the faith of spurious memoirs written in Holland, have mentioned the pretended treaty (signed by Philip V. before his departure) by which he ceded to his grandfather Flanders and the Milanese.

never receive any presents, unless they be trifles. If it should sometimes happen that you are obliged to receive them, be always sure, in a few days after, to return more considerable presents to those who gave them.

"Have a strong box, in which you may deposit any thing particular; and keep the key of it yourself.

"I shall conclude with one of the most important advices I can give you. Do not suffer yourself to be governed. Be master yourself. Have no favourite, nor prime minister. Hear and consult your council; but decide yourself. And God, who hath made you a king, will give you such degrees of light and knowledge as are necessary for you, in proportion to the rectitude of your intentions *.

Lewis XIV. was more remarkable for a just and noble manner of thinking, than for brilliant sallies of wit. Besides, we do not expect that a king should say memorable things, but that he should do them. What is necessary for every man in power is, that he should never suffer any one to leave his presence in a bad humour; but to render himself agreeable to all who approach him. We cannot always do generous actions; but we can always say obliging things. Lewis had acquired this excellent habit. Between him and his court there was a perpetual

* The king of Spain profited by these wholesome advices: he was a virtuous prince.

The author of the *Memoirs of madame de Maintenon*, tom. v. p. 200, accuses him of having had "a scandalous supper with the princess of Ursino the day after the death of his first wife," and of having intended to marry that lady, whom he loads with the most bitter invectives. It must be observed, that the princess of Ursino, who had been maid of honour to the deceased queen, was then in the sixtieth year of her age. These popular reports, which ought to be buried in oblivion, become calumnies, that deserve the most severe punishment, when people have the impudence to print them, and endeavour to sully the most respectable names without the least proof.

petual interchange of all the graces that majesty could shew, without being degraded ; and all the arts which eagerness to serve, and solicitude to please, could shew without abasement. In the company of the ladies especially, he discovered a politeness and complaisance, which increased that of his courtiers ; and with the men he never missed an opportunity of saying such things as flattered their self-love, at the same time that they excited their emulation, and left a deep impression on the mind.

One day the duchess of Burgundy, when she was very young, observing an officer at supper, who was remarkably disagreeable, began to jest on his ugliness with great freedom, and in a very high tone : " I think him, madam," said the king, in a still higher tone, " one of the handsomest men in my kingdom ; for he is one of the bravest."

A general officer, a man of a blunt address, and who had not polished his manners even in the court of Lewis XIV. had lost an arm in an engagement, and was making his complaints to the king, who, however, had rewarded him as much as the loss of an arm could be recompensed : " I wish, said he, I had lost my other arm likewise, that so I might never serve your majesty more." " I should have been extremely sorry for that, said the king, both on your account and my own ;" and immediately granted him a considerable favour. He was so far from saying disagreeable things, which in the mouth of a prince are deadly arrows, that he never indulged himself, even in the most innocent and harmless raileries, while private men daily use the most severe and cruel.

He frequently diverted himself, and even excelled in those ingenious things called impromptues, and agreeable songs ; and he sometimes composed, extempore, little parodies on the songs most in vogue, such as this :

*Chez mon cadet de frère,
Le chancelier Serrant
N'est pas trop nécessaire ;
Et le sage Boifrant
Est celui qui fait plaire.*

There's Phil, my younger brother,
With chancellor Serrant
He seldom makes a pother ;
He likes wife Boifrant
Much better than the other.

And this other which he made one day in dismissing
the council :

*Le conseil à ses yeux à beau se présenter ;
Si-tôt qu'il voit sa chienne, il quitte tout pour elle :
Rien ne peut l'arrêter,
Quand la chasse l'appelle.*

The council in vain at his elbow appears,
When his bitch comes across, from all business
he'll fly ;
Nought else he minds, or sees, or hears,
When once the hounds are in full cry.

These trifles serve at least to shew, that the charms
of wit composed one of the pleasures of his
court ; that he partook in these pleasures ; and that
he was as capable of living like a private man, as
of acting the great monarch on the theatre of the
world.

His letter to the archbishop of Rheims, concern-
ing the marquis de Barbesieux, though wrote in a
very careless stile, does more honour to his heart than
the most ingenious thoughts could have done to his
head. He had given this youth the post of secreta-
ry at war, which had been formerly possessed by
his father, the marquis de Louvois : but being soon
dissatisfied

dissatisfied with the conduct of his new secretary, he resolved to correct him, without giving him too great mortification. With this view he applied to his uncle, the archbishop of Rheims, and desired him to advise his nephew; and shews himself a master informed of every thing, while he had all the tenderness of a father.

“ I know, says he, what I owe to the memory of M. de Louvois; but if your nephew does not alter his conduct, I shall be obliged to do what I shall be sorry for; but there will be a necessity for it. He has talents; but does not make a good use of them. He spends too much time in giving entertainments to the princes, instead of minding business: he neglects the public affairs for his pleasures. He makes the officers wait too long in his anti-chamber; he speaks to them with haughtiness, and even sometimes with rudeness.”

This is all that I remember of this letter, which I once saw in the original. It plainly shews, that Lewis XIV. was not governed by his ministers, as has been reported; but that he knew how to govern them.

He was fond of praises; and it were to be wished that kings were more fond of them, that so they might endeavour to deserve them. But Lewis XIV. did not always swallow them, when they were too strong and excessive. When our academy, which always gave him an account of the subjects it proposed for prizes, shewed him the following, “ Which of all the virtues of the king deserves the preference?” the king blushed, and would not allow the subject to be treated of. He suffered, it is true, the prologues of Quinault; but it was in the height of his glory, and at a time when the intoxication of the people was some apology for his. Virgil and Horace, from a principle of gratitude, and Ovid, from the most contemptible meanness of spirit, loaded Augustus with praises far more extravagant, and,

and, if we consider the proscriptions, much less deserved.

Had Corneille said to any of the courtiers in cardinal de Richelieu's chamber, "Tell the cardinal, that I understand poetry better than he," the minister would never have forgiven him; and yet this is the very thing that Despreaux said openly to his majesty, in a dispute that happened about some verses, which the king thought good, and Despreaux condemned. "He is in the right, said the king; he understands the subject better than I do."

The duke de Vendôme had in his retinue a person called Villiers, one of those men of pleasure, who make a merit of talking with a cynical freedom. He lodged at Versailles in the duke's apartment: he was commonly called Villiers Vendôme. This man openly condemned the taste of Lewis XIV. in music, in painting, in architecture, in gardening, and in every thing else. If the king planted a grove, furnished an apartment, or built a fountain, Villiers found it to be ill-contrived, and expressed his disapprobation in very indiscreet terms. "It is strange, said the king, that Villiers should have chosen my house to laugh at every thing I do." Having one day met him in the garden, "Well," said he to him, shewing him at the same time one of his new performances, "has not that the good fortune to please you?" "No," said Villiers. "And yet, replied the king, there are several people who do not dislike it." "That may be, returned Villiers; every one has his own way of thinking." The king replied, with a smile, "It is impossible to please all the world."

One day Lewis XIV. playing at tick-tack, had a doubtful throw. A dispute arose, and the courtiers remained in the most profound silence. At that instant the count de Grammont arrived. "Decide this question," said the king to him. "Sire, said the count, your majesty is in the wrong." "How, replied the king, can you accuse me of being in the wrong before you know what the question is?"

"Because,

“ Because, said the count, had the matter been in the least doubtful, all these gentlemen would have given it for your majesty.”

The duke of Antin distinguished himself in this age by a singular art, not of saying flattering things, but of doing them. The king went to pass a night at Petit-bourg, when he found fault with a long alley of trees, which concealed the view of the river. The duke caused them to be cut down in the night. Next morning the king was surprised at not seeing the trees with which he had found fault. “ It is, replied the duke, because your majesty found fault with them, that you no longer behold them.”

We have elsewhere remarked, that the same man observing, that a pretty large wood at the end of the canal of Fontainebleau displeased the king, at the minute when his majesty went to take a walk in it, every thing being ready for the purpose, he ordered the trees to be cut down, and in a moment they were levelled with the ground. These are the strokes of an ingenious courtier, and not of a flattering sycophant.

Lewis XIV. has been accused of intolerable pride, for suffering the base of his statue in the Place des Victories, to be surrounded with slaves in fetters: but neither this statue, nor that in the Place de Vendôme were erected by him. The statue in the Place des Victoires is a monument of the greatness of soul of the first marechal de la Feuillade, and of his gratitude to his royal master. He expended on this statue five hundred thousand livres, amounting nearly to a million of our present money; and the city added as much more, to render the place regular. It seems equally unjust to impute to Lewis XIV. the pride of this statue, and to find nothing but vanity and flattery in the magnanimity of the marechal.

Nothing was talked of but the four slaves, tho' they rather represent vices subdued than nations conquered, duelling abolished, and heresy destroyed; for so the inscriptions import. They likewise celebrate the junction of the sea, and the peace of Nimeguen, they talk of nothing but benefits; and none of the slaves has the

least resemblance to the people conquered by Lewis XIV. Besides, it is an ancient practice among sculptors to place slaves at the feet of the statues of kings. It would be better, indeed, to represent there free and happy subjects. But, to conclude, we see slaves at the feet of the merciful Henry IV. and of Lewis XIII. at Paris: we see them at Livourne under the statue of Ferdinand de Medicis, who never, sure, enslaved any nation; and we see them at Berlin under the statue of an elector, who repulsed the Swedes, but made no conquests.

The neighbours of France, and even the French themselves, have, with great injustice, made Lewis XIV. answerable for this custom. The inscription *Viro immortalis*, "to the immortal Man," has been accused of idolatry; as if that impression meant any more than the immortality of his glory. The inscription of Viviani, on his house at Florence, *Ædes à Deo data*, "the house given by God," would be still more idolatrous. It is no more, however, than an allusion to the surname, *Dieu-donne*, and to the verse of Virgil, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*.

With regard to the statue in the Place de Vendôme, it was erected by the city. The Latin inscriptions, on the four sides of its base, discover a more gross kind of flattery than the statue in the Place des Victoires. We there read, that Lewis XIV. never took arms but with reluctance. To this adulation he solemnly gave the lie on his death-bed, by those words, which will be remembered longer than these inscriptions, unknown to him, and produced by the meanness of spirit of some men of letters.

The king had set apart the houses of this square for his public library. The place was too large: it had at first three sides, which were those of an immense palace. The walls were already built, when the calamities that happened in 1701 obliged the city to build private houses on the ruins of the palace, which was already begun. Thus the Louvre was never finished. Thus the fountain and the obelisk, which Colbert intended to raise opposite to the gate of Perrault, never appeared

appeared but in embryo. Thus the beautiful gate of St. Gervais remained in obscurity; and most of the monuments of Paris fill us only with sorrow.

The nation wished, that Lewis XIV. had preferred his Louvre and his capital to the palace of Versailles, which the duke de Crequi called a favourite without merit. Posterity admires, with the most grateful remembrance, the great and noble things he did for the public welfare; but our admiration is mixed with censure, when we behold all the magnificence and defects that Lewis XIV. has introduced into his house in the country.

From all we have said it appears, that Lewis XIV. loved grandeur and glory in every thing. A prince who should perform as great things as Lewis XIV. and yet be modest and humble, would be the first of kings, and Lewis only the second.

If he repented, on his death-bed of having undertaken war without just reason, it must be owned that he did not judge by events; for, of all his wars, the most just, and the most indispensable, that in * 1701, was the only unfortunate one.

He had by his queen, besides the Dauphin, two sons and three daughters, who died in their infancy. His amours, were more successful. There were only two of his natural children that died in the cradle; eight of them were legitimated, and five of them had children. He had likewise by a lady, who lived much with madame de Montespan, a daughter, whom he never acknowledged, and whom he married to a gentleman near Versailles, of the name of La Queue.

Some people suspected, and not without reason, that a certain lady in the abby of Moret was his daughter. She was very brown, and resembled him in other respects †. The king, when he placed her in the convent, gave

* It was so far from being just, that it derived its immediate source from an open violation of treaties, and his embracing a measure which undoubtedly endangered the liberties of Europe.

† The author saw this lady in company with Mr. de Caumartin, intendant of the finances, who had a right of entering into the inner apartments of the convent.

gave her a portion of twenty thousand crowns. The opinion she had of her birth gave her an air of pride, of which the superiors of the convent loudly complained. Madame de Maintenon, in a journey to Fontainebleau, went to the convent of Moret ; and, willing to inspire this nun with more modest sentiments, endeavoured to banish the idea that nourished her pride. " Madame, said the nun, the trouble which a lady of your rank takes to come on purpose to tell me, that I am not the king's daughter, fully convinces me that I am."

This anecdote the nuns of Moret remember to this day.

Such a particularity of circumstances would be irksome to a philosopher ; but curiosity, that weakness so incident to mankind, ceases almost to be a weakness, when it is employed about times and personages which attract the attention of posterity.



END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

